the weekly Standard

DECEMBER 1, 1997

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**Not by Air Alone**
FREDERICK W. KAGAN

**U.N. Paralysis**
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## A HOW-TO GUIDE

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TAMARAC, FLORIDA

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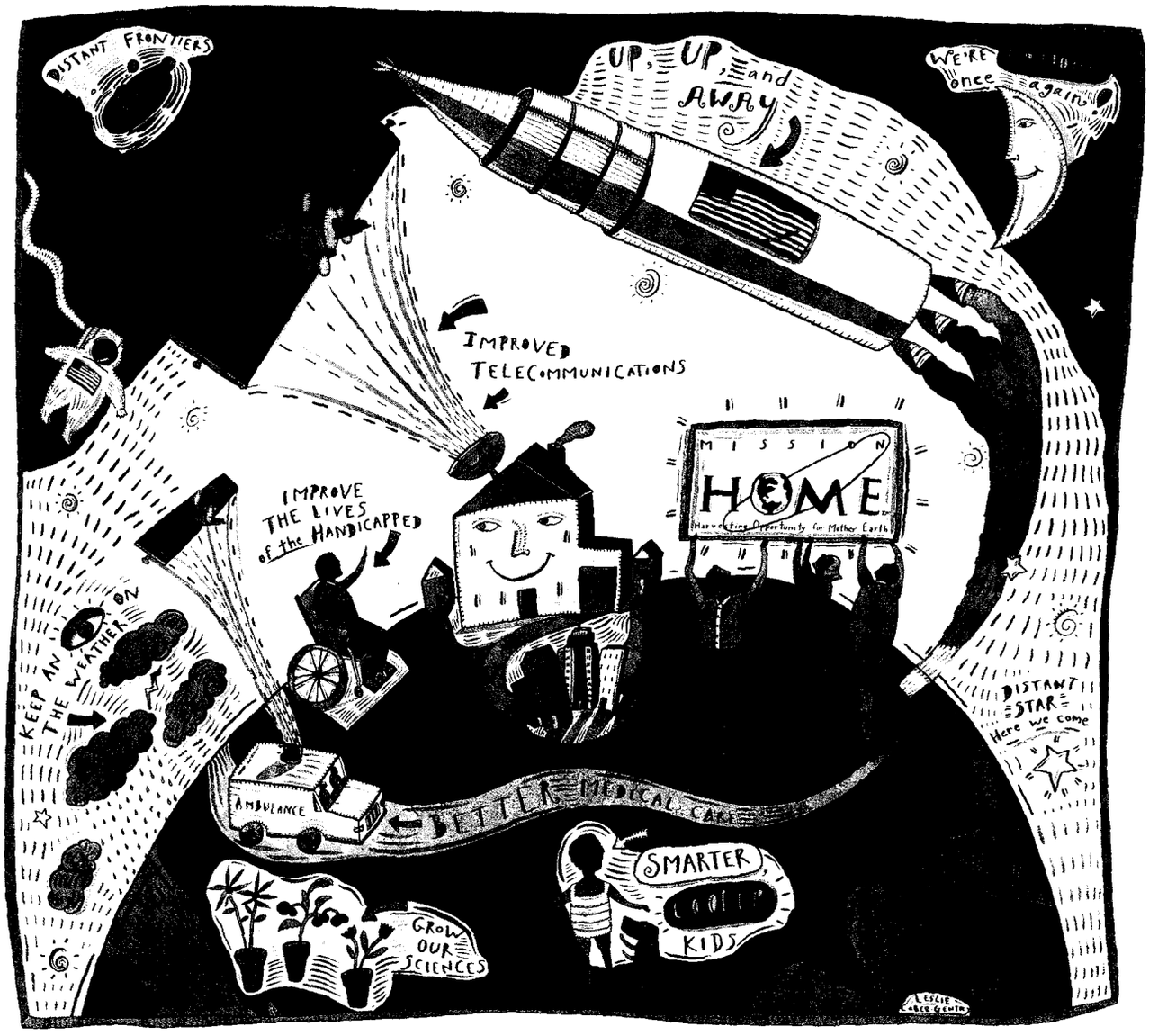


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VOLUME 3, NUMBER 12 • DECEMBER 1, 1997

8 SCRAPBOOK
Children of the *Times*; Jude 'n' Saddam; and more.

10 CORRESPONDENCE

12 CASUAL
Christopher Caldwell, scammed paperboy, laughs last.

40 PARODY

# SADDAM MUST GO

13 EDITORIAL
The End of Containment

14 OVERTHROW HIM
*by* ZALMAY M. KHALILZAD AND PAUL WOLFOWITZ

15 NOT BY AIR ALONE *by* FREDERICK W. KAGAN

17 U.N. PARALYSIS *by* PETER W. RODMAN

18 THE GOP, M.I.A. *by* FRED BARNES

20 LABOR MARCHES LEFT, AND TRIPS
Eventful times for the unions. *by* ARCH PUDDINGTON

25 WHY JANET RENO VS. BILL GATES IS GOOD FOR CAPITALISM
In praise of antitrust law. *by* IRWIN M. STELZER

27 OFF WITH OUR HEADS
The courts declare themselves guilty of bias. *by* HEATHER MAC DONALD

## Books & Arts

31 FOR GOD AND COUNTRY William J. Bennett's book of the founders. *by* NOEMIE EMERY

34 FATHERS AND SONS The burden of Randolph Churchill. *by* LARRY P. ARNN

35 ALL THE WAY WITH LBJ Johnson leaves the presidency reeling. *by* ROBERT D. NOVAK

38 HOW THE LION LOST HIS STORY Staging Disney's spectacular *Lion King*. *by* JOHN PODHORETZ

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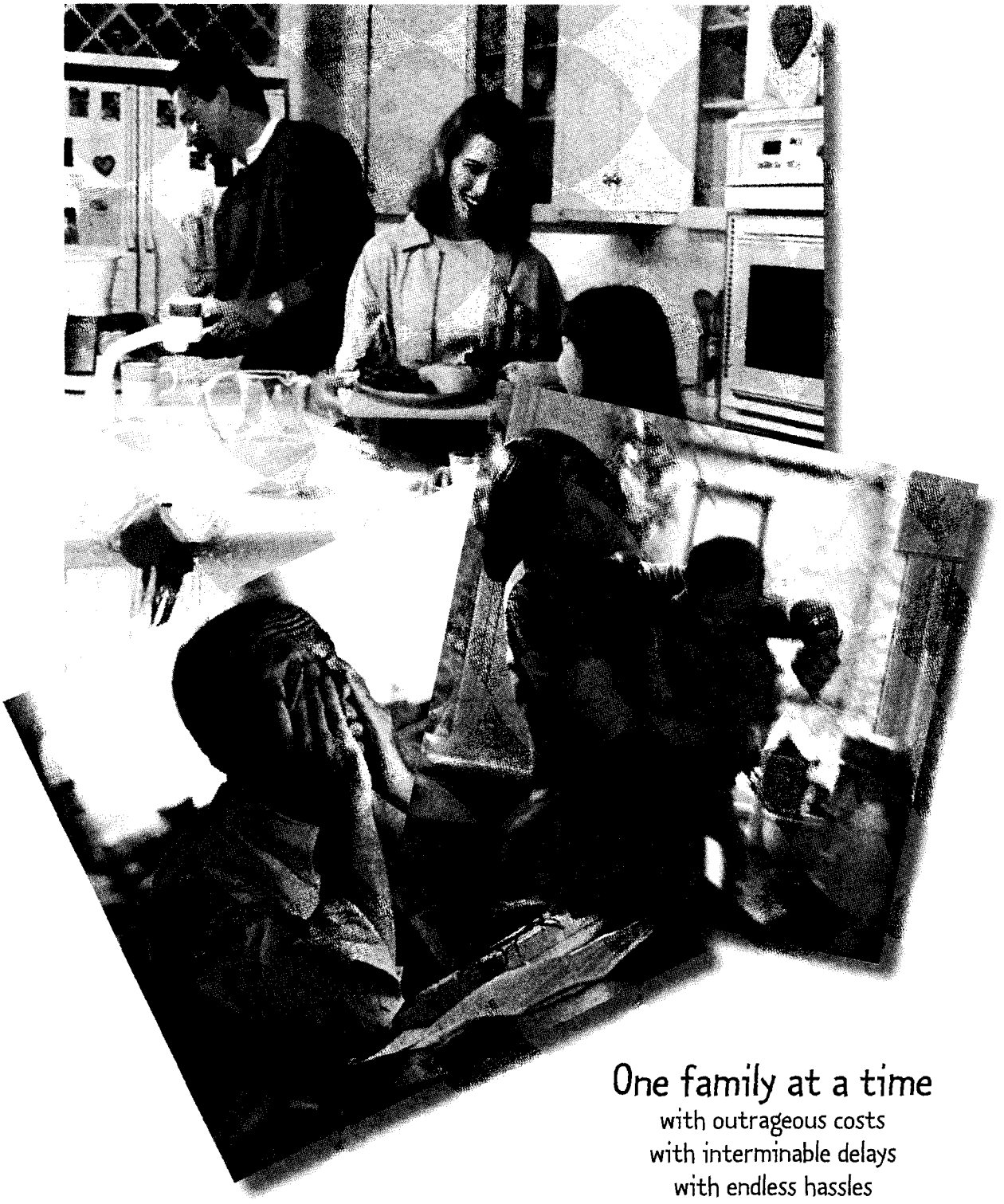
# HOW ARE THE BELL MONOPOLIES STOPPING COMPETITION?



One family at a time
with outrageous costs
with interminable delays
with endless hassles

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# Rob Cramer would have to work for 2 days to earn the money a local Bell monopoly charges to switch local service. ($261)

The Bell monopolies charge up to $261 to allow you to change local phone companies. To change long distance companies, a process that takes just about as much work, they charge just $5 or less.

This is another ploy clearly meant to discourage people from asking to try another local phone company. And, unfortunately, it works.

**The Bell monopolies are creating new barriers to competition every day. But we won't stop until consumers get relief. MCI will work with federal and state regulators, and other new entrants, to open local markets to offer people a real choice. Together, we will make the regional Bells obey the spirit of the law, pass the Telecommunication Act's Fair Play Test, and stop abusing consumers.**

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Source: Line installation and order charges effective 11/10/97: California $261, Florida $180, Massachusetts $126, Oregon $117, Wisconsin $92.

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# The local Bell monopolies are forcing the Clark family to wait up to 6 weeks just to switch phone companies. 6 long weeks of hassles and higher rates.

People who ask to switch to a local phone company are often left in a state of limbo. Since they don't know when, or if, their request will be honored by the Bell monopoly. In some cases, people have to call their Bell monopoly as many as eight times to get any action at all, while at the same time paying higher rates and not getting the carrier of their choice.

**The Bell monopolies are creating new barriers to competition every day. But we won't stop until consumers get relief. MCI will work with federal and state regulators, and other new entrants, to open local markets to offer people a real choice. Together, we will make the regional Bells obey the spirit of the law, pass the Telecommunication Act's Fair Play Test, and stop abusing consumers.**

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# John Stinnett had the right to choose a new local phone company. He just wasn't prepared for the Bell monopoly bickering, arguing and hassles.

The Bell monopolies have their ways of keeping residential and small business customers. Instead of letting you switch local providers quickly and easily, Bell monopolies have argued, misled and delayed. Other times they pressure you to explain why you want to switch. Then there are those intimidating letters from the Bell monopolies that try to persuade you not to exercise your right to choose.

We think switching to a new local phone company should be as easy as choosing a new mechanic, a dry cleaner—or a long distance company.

**The Bell monopolies are creating new barriers to competition every day. But we won't stop until consumers get relief. MCI will work with federal and state regulators, and other new entrants, to open local markets to offer people a real choice. Together, we will make the regional Bells obey the spirit of the law, pass the Telecommunication Act's Fair Play Test, and stop abusing consumers.**

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# Children of the *Times*

On Nov. 16, just in time for the holidays, the *New York Times Book Review* treated its readers to a special round-up of the year's best reading for children. This sort of section is meant as a guide to readers shopping for gifts. Instead it reveals the *Times Book Review*'s peculiar view of childhood—and of its readers.

For starters, there's "a delicately wrought piece of fiction": Norma Fox Mazer's *When She Was Good*, which the *Times* blurbs: "Em's mother is dead. Her father is long gone. Her abusive sister has just died. What next?"

And then there's Brock Cole's *The Facts Speak For Themselves*, the story of a 13-year-old girl having an affair with a middle-aged real-estate broker. Weak-kneed parents are reassured that it turns out all right: The older man is murdered in the girl's arms by her mother's ex-boyfriend, who then kills himself.

For more serious-minded children, there's Naomi Shihab Nye's *Habibi*: Reviewed under the title "Where Rage Lives" (ages 10 and up), it tells the story of an apolitical little Palestinian girl who moves to Jerusalem and learns the proper attitude when Israeli soldiers break into her grandmother's house and smash her bathroom. And of course there are always the many works of Judy Blume, whose lifetime achievement is the subject of an adulatory essay that concludes, "In 1975, when the [teenage] heroine of [Blume's] *Forever* decided to go on the pill, the book was daring. Now it is quaint. . . . In this age of *Heather Has Two Mommies*, we clearly live after the flood. We might pause to thank the author who opened the gates."

Finally, former *Times* columnist Anna Quindlen finds her true métier, reviewing Betsy Hearne's *Seven Brave Women*. "My mother does not believe that wars should be fought at all," the book's narrator declares. "She says *his*tory should be *her* story, too, and she tells stories about all the women in our family who made history by not fighting in wars." Calling the book "a rich resource for educating little girls" and "an important book for boys as well," Quindlen gushes: "It illumines and honors the sacrifices made, not in the service of our country, but in the service of our families and ourselves."

Is it really brave, a "sacrifice" even, to do things that serve not just our families but ourselves? If so, The Scrapbook would like to recommend that this holiday season readers make the heroic "sacrifice" of ignoring the recommendations of the *Times Book Review*.

## Colin Powell on Race

Gen. Colin Powell is the most admired of all Americans and therefore a man unusually well positioned to bring much-needed clarity and candor to the debate about the status of race in the nation's life and laws. Alas, he is not providing either. This sad truth has been emerging in dribs and drabs, in brief passages in college commencement addresses, in asides buried in longer newspaper interviews. But it's clear all the same.

Powell recently sat for an interview with *USA Weekend*. One of the issues he was asked about was affirmative action. "For those who say preference systems are bad," Powell sneered, "I would love to take you through all the preference systems which are acceptable." Powell listed things like tax benefits for mortgage-interest payments and college-admissions bonuses for student athletes. "So we're not against preferences," he continued ("with a tinge of bitterness," *USA Weekend* adds). "We're just against any preference that is related to the color of a person's skin."

Well, yes, precisely so. Powell apparently believes he has identified the hypocrisy of those who espouse a policy of color-blindness. But he has only identified his own shallow understanding of the American creed (or his weakness for a faulty debating point). The Civil War was not fought to end football recruiting, and there is no constitutional amendment to ban discrimination against people who rent houses instead of buying them. Discrimination on grounds of race has a unique place in the catalogue of American sins. The effort to extirpate it in public policy has, as well, a unique place in American law. Too bad Powell doesn't get it.

## Jude ♥ Saddam

Jude Wanniski, the one-time supply-side guru and lead adviser to Jack Kemp, is following his new hero, Louis Farrakhan, deeper into the fever swamps of American politics. For the last year, Wanniski has been trying to sell Farrakhan as a misunderstood political leader whom Republicans should be warming up to, and not the paranoid, anti-Semitic hatemonger that Farrakhan's words and deeds show him to be.

As is often the case with such sales jobs, Wanniski



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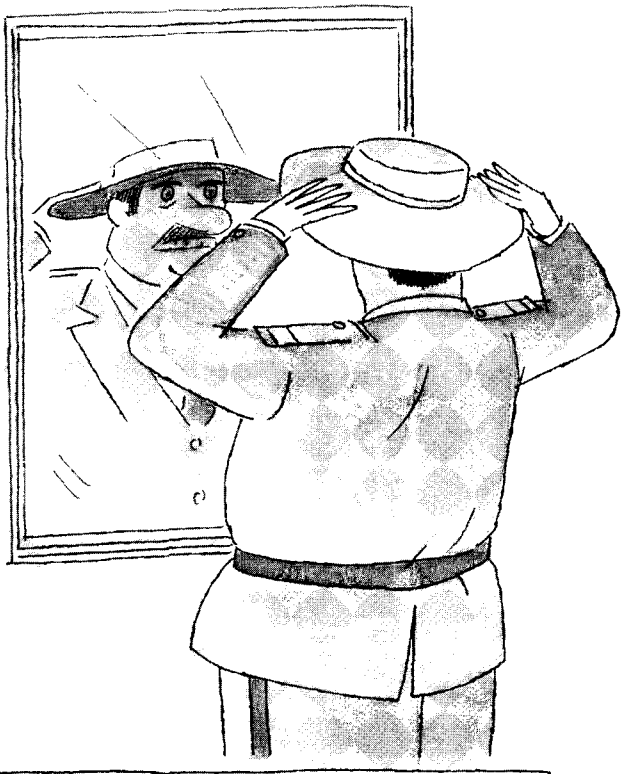

SADDAM HUSSEIN PREPARES TO MEET MADELEINE ALBRIGHT.

keeps a straight face because he first managed to con himself: He is, on the evidence, an enthusiastic convert to Farrakhanism. Thus during the showdown with Iraq, Wanniski has been bombarding the political class with memo after memo urging appeasement—and, indeed, making the case for Saddam.

One example should suffice: "I do not believe Saddam is a demon, nutcake or madman. . . . I don't think of heads of state as good guys or bad guys. They are the products of their times, their cultures, and their people's needs and concerns. To me, evil is ignorance. Hitler and Stalin were greatly evil in the enormous ignorance of their attitudes and behavior."

It's hard to know which is worse in this statement: the intellectual vacuity or the moral obtuseness.

## Congressmen of the New Age

Last week, two veteran Democratic members of Congress, Ronald Dellums and Vic Fazio, both from California, announced they would not seek re-election next year. Both were party leaders; both are relatively young, by congressional standards (Dellums is 62, Fazio 56). So some explanation was called for.

Whenever politicians quit office, they almost invariably repeat the same old alfalfa about closing a rewarding chapter in their career, spending more time with their long-suffering family, embarking on a new adventure in life, etc., etc. Dellums and Fazio touched upon these familiar themes, but in decidedly unfamiliar terms. "Now I choose to make a personal decision," said Dellums, "and to empower myself to regain my life." Fazio declared, that "I have come to a season in my life when I believe it is time to prioritize what matters most to me: the need to put aside the relentless pace of congressional service so I can give more time to family life."

Empower myself to regain my life? Prioritize what matters most to me? It sounds as if these two statesmen just stepped off some of Tony Robbins's hot coals or spent the past few weeks in a sweat lodge with Robert Bly. Mrs. Fazio must be flattered to learn that she ranks so high among her husband's priorities, and who would turn down a chance to watch Ron Dellums empower himself? Our hope is that, as they wean themselves from the political culture, both Dellums and Fazio will master the art of speaking a sentence without resorting to cliché—especially of the New Age, senseless-acts-of-beauty variety. For, as Socrates once said, the unprioritized life is not worth living.

## Did Newt Kill Capps?

There's nothing, it seems, that Democrats won't blame on "mean-spirited" House speaker Newt Gingrich. The latest example comes from Rep. Sam Farr, a California Democrat. Shortly after the death from a heart attack of his 63-year-old California colleague, Rep. Walter Capps, Farr sent a sarcastic "Dear Colleague" letter to other congressmen complaining about the hectic legislative schedule Gingrich had set. If there was any doubt about how his letter was to be interpreted, Farr settled the matter by attaching a newspaper article headlined "Farr: Hectic pace helped kill lawmaker."

Truth be told, the "hectic pace" is as much due to Democratic obstructionism as to any sort of busy GOP agenda. In fact, this session had fewer votes and lasted fewer days than most. But it's a mistake to dignify Farr's sniping with a rebuttal. Talk about "mean-spirited."



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## Taxes and Wedlock

In response to the article by Allan Carlson and David Blankenhorn ("The Wages of Wedlock," Nov. 17), let me state for the record the facts about our bill, the Marriage Tax Elimination Act.

Simply put, the bill Rep. Jerry Weller and I introduced gives families a choice: A husband and wife can file their income taxes individually or jointly, whichever gives them the greatest tax break.

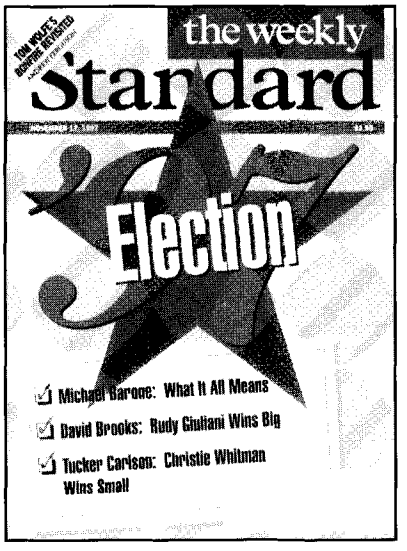
Under current law, all families must file jointly. Most families with one wage-earner pay less in taxes when they file jointly. Our bill allows them to keep this benefit. However, most two-earner families are penalized by filing jointly. For example, when a husband, Roger, earns $30,500, and his wife, Linda, also earns $30,500, they are taxed at the 28 percent marginal rate, for a total tax bill of $8,563. If Roger and Linda were divorced or just living together, they would each be taxed at the lower 15 percent marginal tax rate for a tax bill of $3,592 each.

In other words, Roger and Linda's penalty for getting and staying married is $1,378 per year. For the average working family, this is money that could be used for a year's worth of car payments, six months of mortgage payments, food on the table, or clothing for the kids. The Marriage Tax Elimination Act allows husbands and wives who both work to stay married, file as individuals, and remove their penalty.

Liberals have criticized our bill because it does not eliminate the marriage "bonus" whereby one spouse stays at home and the spouse who works gets a tax break for being married. In the example above, let's say Roger works but Linda does not. Their total family income would be $30,500. Under current law, Roger would pay $3,592 in taxes as a single man and $2,805 as a married man. Roger and Linda's marriage bonus would be $787. Our bill lets them keep this bonus.

Contrary to the point of view shared by Carlson and Blankenhorn, our bill does not "increase regressivity" in the tax code by easing the tax burden on "affluent" two-earner couples. Families with two earners are paying more in taxes than families with one earner. According to the Congressional Budget Office, 76 percent of families with two earners pay a marriage penalty, and only 21 percent receive a marriage bonus. On the other hand, there are no one-earner families paying a penalty while 90 percent are receiving a bonus. Under our bill, all families are either better off because their marriage penalty would be eliminated or treated exactly the same because they would keep their marriage bonus.

Ultimately, the only solution that will treat all taxpayers equally is the one that ends the IRS as we know it and replaces it with a new, single-rate system. Until then, conservatives must band together, not make the perfect the enemy of the good. I support the Senate's increased marriage bonus for homemakers and hope that senators support our bill to eliminate the marriage penalty on working moms. Congress needs to put a priority on correcting the worst perversions of our tax code as we work toward fundamental reform.




REP. DAVID MCINTOSH
WASHINGTON, DC

**ALLAN C. CARLSON AND DAVID BLANKENHORN REPLY:** ***Rep. McIntosh's use of the terms "bonus" and "penalty" misses the point. He is assuming that individual filing represents fairness and that anything different must either be a penalty or a bonus.***

***This is wrongheaded. A tax reform that encouraged married couples to file separate returns would not reflect the economic reality of marriage.***

***Our point about regressivity is valid. A tax cut aimed at comparatively affluent persons—and no one denies that two-earner couples are more affluent than one-earner couples—does indeed increase regressivity in the tax code.***

***Any proposal that would increase the share of the tax burden borne by one-earner couples is a bad idea. McIntosh-Weller would clearly say to at-home parents: You are not valued.***

***Of course, let's eliminate the marriage penalty. But why do it the wrong way?***

## Not-So-Free Speech

I share David Frum's relief that the McCain-Feingold reform bill is more or less dead ("Shut Up, They Explained," Nov. 17). It would have transformed the First Amendment into a honeycomb of campaign-related exceptions, exemptions, and exclusions. Alas, Frum suggests that America must choose either McCain-Feingold-style "reforms" that limit free speech or today's bribocracy, in which campaign donations purchase federal goodies. This is a false dichotomy.

Conservatives and libertarians should be gravely concerned about Washington's legal bribes-for-favors machine. Does anything other than campaign cash sustain Davis-Bacon and sugar subsidies while allowing hustlers like Roger Tamraz to beg the White House for commercial gifts?

Americans should embrace a third path that would promote necessary campaign reforms while preserving free speech.

In other words, federal candidates should raise funds from those who can vote for them. House contenders should collect from adult citizens in their own congressional districts. Senatorial aspirants should raise money within their own states, and White House candidates should gather cash nationwide. Donors should give the parties amounts equal (at most) to their contributions to individual office-seekers.

The 1974 donations limits could be adjusted for inflation, then indexed thereafter. Corporations and unions should neither give money to candi-



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dates nor coerce workers into funding political activities.

What everyone should do is express his beliefs on candidates and causes. People could spend as much as they wanted on ads and brochures that said, for instance, "A Global Outlook: Gore 2000," or "Ethics Matter: Anyone but Gore."

If people want to influence lawmakers, let them speak out in the court of public opinion. This approach would reduce dramatically the amount of legal bribe-money in candidates' pockets and the parties' coffers, while increasing the free speech that Frum rightly cherishes.

DEROY MURDOCK
NEW YORK, NY

## HILLARY LOVES HILLARY

Christopher Caldwell knows that nobody loves Hillary the way Hillary loves Hillary ("The Hillary Cult," Nov. 10). Hillary's proclamations reveal a naivete that is never noticed by the media. Past American mothers were not "handed a pattern" for raising a family. Our "foremothers," as she puts it, were more involved in child-rearing than she suspects. This first couple is more out of touch with America than any other in our history.

MARY D. MAY
BENTON, AR

## JUST GOOD FUN

I quite enjoyed your recent cover "Why Al Gore Got in Bed with Ellen" (Nov. 3). One of the letters you printed called it "low and tasteless."

On the contrary, I call it accurate and to the point. Political cartoons make us laugh at the foibles and gaffes of otherwise serious people and issues. People need to lighten up, don't you think?

I also liked the cover featuring Al Gore as a Buddhist monk. I wish you had more covers poking fun at the sanctimonious inside-the-Beltway folk.

C.B. BERGIN
HOUSTON, TX

## BUT STILL TRUE TO SPIRIT

One correction to Tucker Carlson's story on the Christie Whitman race in New Jersey ("Christie Whitman, Relic of the Eastern GOP," Nov. 3): He quotes me quoting the governor, when in fact I was somewhat wildly paraphrasing her with a little too much vulgar liberty. Gov. Whitman never told anyone to "piss off" while discussing her position on partial-birth abortion. Any hostility suggested by my sloppy paraphrasing is my error.

MIKE MURPHY
MCLEAN, VA

## NOT A PINK PANTHER

Thank you for Matthew Scully's review of my book ("Who Pays for Big Bird? Bewailing the Decay of Public TV," Nov. 17). Allow me to correct one factual error: Scully wrote that the early public-television program *Soul!* was "hosted by a Black Panther." He may know better, but I have no knowledge that the late Ellis Haizlip was ever affiliated with the Black Panther party. Since he was openly gay, I rather doubt it.

Certainly my book does not say that Haizlip was a Panther. I think Scully may have read too quickly over a passage discussing an episode of *Soul!* on which a former Panther appeared as a guest.

JAMES LEDBETTER
NEW YORK, NY

## MEAN LIKE ME

David Brooks's "Elegy for the New York Left": (Nov. 3) was one of the meanest pieces I've seen in years.

Keep up the good work.

LOUIS W. RIGGS
HANNIBAL, MI


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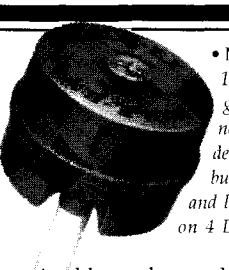

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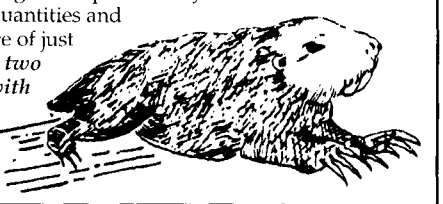

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# Casual

## The No-Luck Club

Some people make fun of my old Honda. Not much longer, baby. My wife was in a car dealership the other day when she was invited to enter a contest to win a four-wheel-drive Mercedes. As I see it, the thing is practically in the driveway.

I've always been drawn to contests and games, a trait that surely comes from my grandmother. Nana's weakness was Bingo, known to her and other Massachusetts Irish as *Beano*. "Beano" because Protestant legislators had banned Bingo nights once it became clear they were the source of half the revenue of the Catholic church. That the very same game became legal when renamed "Beano" was an early lesson in legalistic sophistry for the Boston Irish, not that they were ever a people desperately in need of such lessons.

If you were willing to leave your parish, you could play Beano every night of the week, which is what Nana did. But her luck was bad. She never won anything in her entire life.

Sorry, she did win one thing. One weekday, my mother took her to some gargantuan ladies' luncheon. There was a raffle, and in a packed room, Nana's number came up. The prize was "Got My Mojo Workin'," a tape by a jazz/fusion crooner called "The Incredible Jimmy Smith." When Nana got home, brandishing the cassette with considerable pride, I offered to play it on my tape recorder. So there we sat at the kitchen table in Lynn, Massachusetts, my 62-year-old grandmother and me, while Jimmy Smith, as Incredible as they said he would be, went through a series of suggestive grunts:

*Oh! Ohhhhhhhhhh! Mo-jo!*
*Ugh! Ugh! Mohhhhhhhh-jo!*
*Work it! Ugh!*
*Work it, baby! Ugh!*

At that age, I liked *all* music, from "All Along the Watchtower" to "Julie, Julie, Julie, Do Ya Love Me?," but here I drew the line. Nana didn't like it much, either. We shut it off before Jimmy had even got his mojo halfway worked.

I had been similarly deceived by the *Salem Evening News*, for which I had a paper route. One winter afternoon a flyer arrived announcing that any paperboy who got ten new subscriptions could enter a drawing to meet Don Awrey of the Boston Bruins. Awrey was my favorite hockey player. God knows why—he was a scrub defenseman on the great Bruins teams of Orr, Esposito, and Bucyk. But that only made me the more desperate to seize this rare chance to pay him homage.

My neighborhood was *Lynn Item* territory. Potential subscribers for the *Salem News* were thin on the ground, and to get them meant transforming my paper route from a tight little 12-minute circuit into an afternoon-consuming odyssey through neighborhoods I'd never seen before. But, after weeks of bicycling through sleet, with my fingers frozen to the handlebars, I got them. My name got drawn. And one night in January, my father drove me up to a gymnasium in Beverly to sit at the hero's knee.

The gym was stifling; there were at least 200 kids there, sitting on folding chairs with their chain-smoking dads in tow. It was clear that I'd been had. There hadn't been any subscription contest. Anyone who'd wanted to come could have come. I probably wasn't even going to get to shake Don Awrey's hand.

Awrey started off with a contest of his own, waving an official Boston Bruins winter hat in front of the throng. "I'll give this hat," he said, "to anyone who can tell me why, when someone scores three goals, it's called a hat trick."

It was a no-brainer. Two hundred *Salem News* paperboys were wildly waving, screaming, "I know! I know!" Awrey lifted his head, looked down his nose, and pointed directly at me. Then he said something I'll never forget. He said:

*"Uh . . . the little girl in the back."*

I plead long hair (it was 1973) and the smoke in the gym. I said, more pipingly than I would have liked, "I'm a boy." Then I explained—at least I'd get a hat out of it—that whenever a player scores three goals, fans throw their hats on the ice.

Awrey said only one word: "Wrong." He turned to the (now-chuckling) crowd and explained that the *right* answer was that in 1890-something, a Montreal hat merchant promised that anyone on the Canadiens who—

I told my father we had better go. What a humiliation. No handshake, no prize, no food, my eyes watering (from all the smoke, of course). And the realization that for this I had saddled myself with a paper route that would have prostrated Lewis and Clark.

Awrey left the Bruins soon after. He was ignominiously benched for the 1976 Stanley Cup finals, a coaching decision that still tops my list of Great Moments in Sports History. But I'm more magnanimous now. After all, this stuff is small beer for someone who'll be tooling around in a four-wheel-drive Mercedes in another week or so. Then I'll be saying, "Hey, Don Awrey, who's the little girl now?"

**Christopher Caldwell**



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the weekly Standard

# The End of Containment

Don't be fooled by artful spinning at the State Department and in the White House press room. The United States has lost badly in its most recent confrontation with Saddam Hussein. The deal worked out by President Clinton's new special negotiator, Russian foreign minister Yevgeny Primakov, will give Saddam just about everything he wants: assurances from the international community that it will hasten the lifting of sanctions imposed after the Gulf War; a loosening of restraints on Iraq's ability to sell oil to buy food; and a recomposition of the U.N. weapons-inspection team to reduce the percentage of Americans. In return, we get a resumption of a weapons-inspection process that, despite the heroic efforts of the inspectors themselves, has been unable to prevent Saddam from putting together the pieces necessary to produce weapons of mass destruction, especially of the chemical and biological varieties. And what did Saddam's weapons producers do during the three weeks when no one was watching them? Even with the inspectors back in, it will be more difficult than ever to know just how close Saddam may be to having the ability to rain unspeakable horrors on U.S. allies, or U.S. troops, in the Middle East.

**The Gulf War coalition is split wide open, and it's just a matter of time before Saddam is back in business. He has paid no price at all.**

The Clinton administration claims not to be a party to the Russian deal, but this sounds like doublespeak. The administration has already acceded to one of Saddam Hussein's demands: Only four American inspectors are returning to Iraq as part of the U.N. team. Four weeks ago, there were six. Expect more concessions to follow in the weeks and months ahead. The alternative to bending to Saddam's wishes is to open another jagged chasm in the coalition. The Clinton administration has lost control of the diplomacy.

Clinton officials ludicrously insist they have achieved their goal of a return to the status quo ante. But they have not—because momentum now exists for further deterioration of that status quo. As events of the last few weeks have proven, the overall policy of containing the Iraqi menace is on the verge of a complete collapse. The Gulf War coalition is split wide open, and it's just a matter of time before the sanctions are lifted and Saddam is back in business. Saddam has paid no price at all for his behavior.

But the key point is this: The details of the deal are almost incidental. For even a return to the status quo ante is no longer acceptable. As the Clinton administration itself has been shouting to the world these past few days, Saddam may well be about to acquire the weapons that will put him back in the driver's seat in the Middle East. If we continue along the present course, within a year we are likely to see Saddam shake off his already rusting chains and become once again the international danger that he was before the Gulf War. Perhaps more of a danger.

That ought to be intolerable. But it isn't to the Clinton administration. And unfortunately, it seems not to be to many Republicans in Congress. Everyone seems willing to close his eyes and hope for the best. But there is an alternative: to open our eyes, to do more than sit and wait for the next crisis, and to shift fundamentally the direction of U.S. policy toward Saddam. Containment is no longer enough. Rather than try to contain Saddam, a strategy that has failed, our policy should now aim to remove him from power by any and all means necessary.

In this issue, we publish three articles suggesting how this strategy might be implemented—how we might lead rather than follow our coalition partners, how we might go about supporting a political opposition in Iraq, and how the job of removing Saddam



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might be accomplished militarily. We hope this stimulates a wider discussion of the appropriate political, military, and diplomatic means of deposing Saddam. We hope the president and his advisers will begin to rethink their capitulation and prepare for the coming crisis. And we hope that Republicans rouse themselves from their post-Cold War torpor and see the Iraqi threat for what it is. Said President Clinton, "This is not just a replay of the Gulf War. This is about the security of the 21st century and the problems everybody is going to have to face dealing with chemical weapons." This is the truth. We should act on it. ♦

# OVERTHROW HIM

**by Zalmay M. Khalilzad and Paul Wolfowitz**

IF SADDAM HUSSEIN IN 1990 had merely occupied Kuwait's disputed border areas and northern oil fields, he might have gotten away with it. But instead, he conquered the entire country. Unchecked greed was his downfall.

Now, unfortunately, Saddam seems to have learned to settle for half a loaf—or at least to take the loaf one slice at a time. Under the coaching of Russian foreign minister Yevgeny Primakov, who knows from personal experience in the KGB that the Soviet Union successfully concealed a massive biological-weapons program, Saddam has apparently concluded that he can allow U.N. inspectors back in at very little risk.

Having obtained three weeks to move everything the inspectors were about to find, Saddam will now let them try to start over again at square one. Adding more Russian and French inspectors will not make the inspections more vigorous. If the inspectors do start to find anything significant, Saddam can always kick them out again. If the inspectors don't find much in a few months, the pressure from Saddam's Russian friends to lift sanctions entirely may become more than the Clinton administration can resist. Over time, containment will lead more and more countries—including, perhaps, the United States—to accommodate Saddam.

This is no way to deal with a problem that, in President Clinton's words, concerns "the security of the 21st century." If we are serious about dismantling Saddam's weapons of mass destruction, and preventing him from building more, we will have to confront him sooner or later—and sooner would be better

Unfortunately, at this point, only the substantial use of military force could prove that the United States is serious and reverse the slow collapse of the international coalition. But military force alone is not enough. It must be part of an overall political strategy that sets as its goal not merely the containment of Saddam but the liberation of Iraq from his tyranny.

If it comes to military action, pinpricks will not suffice. Sustained attacks on the elite military units and security forces that are the main pillar of Saddam's terror-based regime are necessary. With such a demonstration of seriousness, new options will open for U.S. policy. Other countries, and the many Iraqis who would like to be free of Saddam's tyranny, will be prepared to respond differently to a new strategy that embraces the removal of Saddam's regime as our overall objective. Such a strategy would have six elements:

First, we need to coordinate with regional allies, especially Turkey. In exchange for Turkish cooperation, Ankara must be assured that it will have a major say in Iraq's future and that the goal of Saddam's removal is a unified Iraq, not a separate Kurdish state on Turkey's borders. The rich Arab states in the Gulf—which are most threatened by Saddam—need to be convinced that we are serious about finishing the job, but they should share the costs and logistical burdens of supporting the Iraqi resistance movement.

Second, we need to encourage the revival of the Iraqi opposition. Most Iraqis oppose Saddam's dictatorship. But they feel they were handed the worst possible outcome from the Gulf War—sanctions and Saddam. Revival of the opposition should not be a matter of organized coup plots, which would be doomed, nor should it consist of CIA manipulation of exile groups. What is needed is the assurance of economic, military, and political support of those Iraqis prepared to take charge of their own future.

Furthermore, it is essential to end the fratricidal struggle between the two Kurdish factions in northern Iraq and to enlist Shi'ia and Sunni support so that the resistance becomes a broad-based national movement. As the Iraqi opposition gains ground, we should develop international support for a viable provisional government. This government should control as much of the frozen Iraqi assets as possible, under some international supervision, as long as it represents the entire Iraqi people. We should also end the absurd application of sanctions to regions of Iraq that are not under Saddam's control, a step that would increase the economic resources of opposition groups.



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Third, we must seek to delegitimize Saddam and his regime. He should be indicted as a war criminal on the basis of his crimes against Iraq's Kurds and Shi'ias, and against the people of Kuwait. We should emphasize that contracts signed with his regime are not legally valid and that the United States will never permit Saddam to sell the oil that companies in France and elsewhere are already panting after. Companies that want to develop Iraq's enormous oil wealth should line up with a government of free Iraq instead.

Fourth, in cooperation with our friends and regional allies, we should arm and train opposition forces.

Fifth, we should restore Radio Free Iraq and resume our support for Iraqi opposition radio programming, which dried up in 1996.

And last, we should be prepared to provide military protection for Iraqi units defecting from Saddam to the resistance movement. It was a grave mistake not to provide such support when Iraqis rose up against Saddam in 1991.

A strategy of removing Saddam will take time. However, when the United States acts, as President Bush did in the Gulf and as President Clinton finally did in Bosnia, the whole strategic picture changes. Actions that are difficult or impossible now will become more feasible after we have taken the first steps.

There is no guarantee of success; this course certainly entails risks. However, Saddam Hussein is not 10 feet tall. In fact, he is weak. But we are letting this tyrant, who seeks to build weapons of mass destruction, get stronger. Will this be Bill Clinton's most important foreign-policy legacy?

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# NOT BY AIR ALONE

## by Frederick W. Kagan

IF A SINGLE IMAGE FROM THE GULF WAR is firmly fixed in America's mind, it is that of a guided missile striking the door of an Iraqi bunker. The moment that CNN flashed that image around the world, it became the symbol of America's technological supremacy. The ground war that followed offered no images to compete with it, and the speedy subsequent peace brought a belief that, for the first time in history, attack from the air had won a war.

Since then, the United States has steadily reduced its ground forces, justifying that reduction on grounds that enormous air and technological superiority more than compensate. Many have come to believe that air power by itself is adequate to resolve crises such as the current one in Iraq. But this belief is wrong, and, not only wrong, but dangerously so. The current crisis is precisely the sort of situation least suited to solution by air power alone. If our objective is to remove Saddam from power and destroy Iraq's capability to manufacture weapons of mass destruction, it is ground forces that must play the decisive role.

A recent General Accounting Office report has undermined the claim that the U.S. air war defeated Saddam. The report points out the obvious fact that, although "some air war planners hoped that the air war alone would cause the Iraqis to leave Kuwait . . . after 38 days of nearly continuous bombardment, a ground campaign was still deemed necessary." The United States was forced to conduct a ground war in part because the air campaign failed to destroy the Iraqi army and Saddam's ability to wage war. According to the GAO report, "Central Intelligence Agency analysis showed that more than 70 percent of the tanks in three Republican Guard divisions located in the Kuwait theater of operations remained intact at the start of the ground campaign and that large numbers were able to escape across the Euphrates River before the cease-fire." Since 1991, air power proponents have boasted of our ability to destroy an enemy's command, control, and communications (called "C3") and to interdict supplies. But the GAO report concludes that, with the air war, "Iraq's C3 and [supply] capabilities were partially degraded; although more than half of these targets were successfully destroyed, Saddam Hussein was able to direct and supply many Iraqi forces through the end of the air campaign and even immediately after the war." Indeed, when lead American units encountered the Republican Guard formations, those formations were supplied, communicating with headquarters, and ready for action. Only an encounter with American ground forces changed things.



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In the present crisis, America's primary aim, in the event of military action, would be to destroy Saddam's ability to manufacture weapons of mass destruction. The GAO found that "lack of intelligence about most Iraqi nuclear-related facilities meant that only less than 15 percent were targeted. The concerted campaign to destroy mobile Scud launchers did not achieve any confirmed kills." In other words, targeting is only as good as the intelligence it is based on, and mobile targets are difficult to find and destroy. The continued absence of U.N. inspectors steadily diminishes our intelligence about possible locations of weapons-production sites; the materials needed to produce those weapons are by their nature highly mobile. So is destroying such weapons impossible?

The answer is yes, if we rely exclusively on air power. Air power deals in probabilities: the probability that someone has identified the right target, that the pilot finds that target, that the bomb or missile fired hits the target, that the bomb actually destroys the target, and so on. It is inevitable that an air attack, no matter how extensive, will leave numerous targets intact. And because bomb-damage assessment is notoriously difficult, it is certain that some targets left untouched will be reported destroyed. Therefore, at the conclusion of any bombing campaign, not only will we not have destroyed all of Iraq's most alarming capabilities, we will not even know for sure what has been taken out and what still stands. This is why we have demanded on-site inspections. It is also why ground forces will be essential in any campaign to destroy Saddam's mass-terror ability.

**Air power deals in probabilities; ground forces deal in certainties. When disabling weapons of mass destruction, certainty is vital.**

Ground forces, unlike air forces, deal in certainties. Soldiers on the ground know when an enemy tank has been destroyed. They can check, or bring in specialists to check, whether a building actually did house weapons-making facilities and, if so, whether those facilities were destroyed. It is true that soldiers on the ground will fail to identify all possible targets, just as satellites and reconnaissance aircraft will, but when targets are indeed attacked, soldiers on the ground know whether those targets have been destroyed—meanwhile, electronic sensors can only guess. And the difference between knowledge and guesses, when dealing with weapons of mass destruction, is vital.

Ground forces are essential for yet another reason: Our history with Saddam has taught him that ground forces are decisive where air forces are not. After 38 days of intensive air attack, significant portions of the Iraqi army were combat-capable, and the dictator did not surrender. After 100 hours of ground war, most of the Iraqi army had been disabled or destroyed—and Saddam gave up. We have taught him that, though air attack will hurt him, ground attack will destroy him. Thus, threatening a ground attack could intimidate Saddam in a way that the threat of air power will not.

Unfortunately, the belief that air power won the Gulf War has helped to erode our ability to conduct an assault on the ground. Since 1991, America's armed forces have been cut across the board by over 30 percent; the Army has been reduced from 16 divisions to 10. In 1990, we deployed the equivalent of six heavy divisions to the Gulf and had five more in reserve. Today, there are only six and one-third heavy divisions in the entire Army. One of those is in Korea—and there it must remain, especially when tensions with Iraq draw the rest of the Army to the Middle East. Another division is devoted to training and modernization programs and is not deployable. If we had to go to war with Iraq tomorrow, we could field perhaps two-thirds of the armored forces we sent in 1990. It is true that Iraq is also much weaker than it was in 1990, but the task of deposing Saddam and eradicating his weapons capabilities is more daunting than that of ejecting the Iraqi army from Kuwait.

There is no doubt that we could defeat Iraq again both on the ground and in the air (and, of course, any ground attack should be preceded and accompanied by a substantial air campaign). But it is critical to remember the lesson about air power: The threat of air attack can have a significant psychological impact on an enemy who has not known attack from the air; but against populations and troops that have survived such bombings, neither the threat of air attacks nor their execution is necessarily convincing. It is unfortunate that the apparent success of the air war in 1991 has obscured this basic truth and has seduced us into allowing our ground capability to dwindle. Yes, Iraq can be deterred, coerced, or defeated—but, for certain, only on the ground.

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# U.N. PARALYSIS

## by Peter W. Rodman

JOHN KENNEDY WAS HAILED FOR HIS TRIUMPH in the Cuban missile crisis. Only later was it understood that he had secretly promised the Soviets the *quid pro quo* they had asked for—removal of U.S. missiles in Turkey—and acquiesced in the restoration of the Soviet-Cuban military alliance. And Fidel, of course, is still with us, 35 years later. President Clinton has emulated President Kennedy in many areas—his response to an aggressor may prove another.

Whatever the claims about Saddam Hussein's "unconditional" capitulation, the outlines of our compromise with him are now apparent. Russian foreign minister Yevgeny Primakov gave Saddam a variety of reassurances; the United States had already telegraphed its agreement to most of them.

Saddam had denounced U.S. "domination" of the U.N. Special Commission (UNSCOM). The United States has let it be known that it will not oppose Security Council reexamination of the composition and scope of UNSCOM. The Iraqis say the Russians also promised to seek an end to U-2 flights and inspection of presidential palaces. Presumably all this will be on the Security Council agenda.

Saddam wanted assurances on the easing of economic sanctions, even before his full compliance with the ban on weapons of mass destruction. The United States indicated that it was open to expanding the scope of the oil-for-food arrangements. The whole sanctions issue will now be reopened in the Security Council, with the Russians and the French insisting on some sort of timetable for relaxation.

This is not the end of it. Did our Arab friends claim that they have been inhibited in supporting us because of Israeli recalcitrance in the peace process? The U.S. response—instead of rejecting this linkage—was a startling anti-Israel speech by Madeleine Albright at the economic forum in Qatar. Saddam will get credit for this in the Arab world, boosting his prestige as a champion of the Palestinians.

These are Saddam's diplomatic gains. More ominous are the advances his weapons technicians have made in secret during the three-week hiatus of UNSCOM—advances that the inspectors will never be able to undo. Then there is the dramatically advertised further erosion of the international coalition that once resisted Saddam. The dictator comes out far ahead of where he began. Instead of being penalized for his stunt, he has been paid off.

Needless to say, the Russians gain too in the Middle East—demonstrating their ability to shield rogue states from American pressure, proving they can deliver diplomatic results at American expense. A destabilizing precedent.

Why this outcome? It was a confused and self-defeating American policy that let three weeks go by before any significant augmentation of naval and air forces in the Gulf. Despite tough talk about "keeping military options open," the administration's preoccupation was pursuit of a diplomatic solution—first in the U.N. Security Council, then via the Russian mediation. It was a tortuous process, while with every passing day Saddam's technicians were accelerating their work on designing biological and chemical warheads for upgraded SCUD missiles, freed from the pesky constraints of U.N. inspection.

Time was not on our side; it was in the American interest to bring matters quickly to a head. Saddam's rejection of the U.N. mandate was clear at the outset; there was no question to which we did not already have the answer. Diplomacy was a substitute for action, advocated by those most eager to block the kind of military response that had the best chance of compelling a truly unconditional Iraqi climb-down.

This is an administration that worships the United Nations and "multilateralism." Thus, it should have been no surprise that preserving the Security Council consensus became the be-all and end-all. Given Russian and French objections to military action, the administration was stymied—uncomfortable in the first place with the use of force and even more allergic to acting without Security Council endorsement. (Even in Haiti in 1994, the administration insisted on a Security Council blessing.) For three weeks, the buzzword in Washington was "ratcheting up sanctions." Thus, the absurd utterance by State Department spokesman Jamie Rubin on November 10: "With each passing day that he refuses to let these inspections do the job, he's only hurting himself"—referring to the imminence of . . . a U.N. ban on travel by Iraqi officials! Poor Tariq Aziz: barred from doing his Christmas shopping in London this year. But Saddam's weapons technicians were still at work.

Coalition-building in the U.N. Security Council can be a means to an end. George Bush used Security Council resolutions skillfully—they helped broaden the coalition and win votes in the (then-Democratic-controlled) U.S. Congress. But Bush never imagined that we needed U.N. *permission* to act. Article 51 of the U.N. Charter acknowledges the inherent right of individual and collective self-defense. We could have—and I believe Bush would have—gone to war without Security Council "authorization."

Bush also understood the paradox of American unilateralism. An image of absolute determination to act unilaterally has a galvanizing effect on other



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nations. Those (say, on the Security Council) who don't like American military action are given an interest in going along: If they see us as implacably charging ahead, they are better off throwing some U.N. cover over us as a claim on our duty to consult in the future. If we break free of the Security Council, they lose all influence over us.

American decisiveness has a similar effect in the Arab world. The media made much of Secretary Albright's "failure" to secure Arab support for military action on her recent trip. None of us, of course, knows the content of her conversations. But it is a certainty that our Arab friends are terrified of Saddam's weapons of mass destruction and desperately want us to protect them. Their public dissociation meant not that they disagreed with us, but that they lacked confidence in us. If they saw Saddam as the likely winner, their appeasement reflex was bound to operate.

The Clinton administration had its priorities backwards from the outset. It clung to a mystical faith in economic sanctions and diplomatic procedures, delaying for two weeks the dispatch of a second aircraft carrier and additional land-based aircraft. It permitted a series of redundant diplomatic overtures to a rigid Saddam. Then we invited in the Russians. A cardinal principle of Minister Primakov's foreign policy is to reduce American "hegemony" in the world; and Russia (an energy exporter) could not care less whether the West's energy lifeline falls into Saddam's grip. This is the same Primakov whose attempted intervention in 1991 was deflected by George Bush as the unfriendly obstructionism it was.

This time, however, the negotiating bazaar was open. Our unconditional deference to the Security Council reduced our leverage, leaving a brokered compromise the inevitable outcome.

In the new context—the disastrous hiatus of UNSCOM, the accelerating erosion of the economic-sanctions regime—we are weaker. The administration will plead that it lacked international backing. History is, of course, an understanding judge—but such an excuse would surpass historians' understanding.

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# THE GOP, M.I.A.

## by Fred Barnes

As luck would have it, British prime minister Margaret Thatcher was in Aspen, Colorado, when President Bush arrived to give a speech there in August 1990. It was just after Iraq had invaded Kuwait, and Bush was pondering how aggressively to respond. He and Thatcher, who was vacationing prior to giving an Aspen speech of her own, conferred for several hours. Her now-famous advice was: "Remember, George, now is no time to go wobbly." Not only that, she was tough and outspoken when she and Bush talked to reporters. Thatcher favored the strongest possible action against Iraqi president Saddam Hussein. "You cannot have a situation where one country marches in and takes over another country," she declared. Bush may not have needed any spine-stiffening, but at the least Thatcher's advice reinforced his inclination to respond forcefully.

In the latest Iraqi crisis, congressional Republicans could have played Thatcher to President Clinton's Bush. But they didn't show up. That was unfortunate because they might have spurred Clinton to punish Saddam in a way that weakened him and deterred further troublemaking. True, Republicans had an excuse for their no-show. Congress was in recess as the crisis came to a head. House speaker Newt Gingrich was on a four-day speaking tour in behalf of House Republicans. Senate majority leader Trent Lott was away, too. Sen. Jesse Helms, chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, was home in North Carolina. Sen. Richard Lugar of Indiana, a respected GOP player in foreign policy, was on a trip to Russia.

Still, there were things Republicans could have done to point Clinton away from the deal he accepted on November 20, a deal that left Saddam unpunished. After all, GOP leaders have standing with Clinton on foreign affairs, having backed him on fast track, China policy, and NATO expansion. So a few key Republicans could have gone to the White House to advise Clinton. Before recessing, they could have passed a resolution demanding retaliation against Saddam. Or, more dramatically, they could have called Congress back in session to promote punishment for Saddam. Instead of fielding occasional press calls, they could have made a concerted effort to get on TV talk shows to give their take on Iraq. They could have drafted a strong letter to Clinton, then released it to the press. They could have come together for a news conference, or they could have convened individual ones around the country. In short, they could have created enormous pressure for stern action against Saddam.



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What exactly should they have urged Clinton to do? They could have told the president they'd back him if he defied queasy allies like France and Russia and acted unilaterally. They could have promised GOP support for penalizing Saddam, either by military strikes or tougher sanctions. They could have recommended he organize a full-blown effort to depose Saddam and promised funding for it. All they had to do is determine what Thatcher would have said—not too hard a task—and repeat it to Clinton.

Everything was in place for Republicans to play a pivotal, Thatcher-like role. Public opinion favored a harsh response to Iraq, including military strikes. Clinton was prepared to deal firmly, having deployed a serious military force in the Persian Gulf. And when asked, Republicans had exactly the right view of the situation. They figured Saddam had expelled American inspectors to protect biological or chemical weapons that might have been uncovered. They believed he wanted to divide the coalition against him on the United Nations Security Council. And they knew he was eager to isolate and tweak the United States.

Sen. John McCain of Arizona, an influential GOP voice on foreign policy, expressed precisely this view. "Obviously, Saddam has had time to move [weapons of mass destruction] or conceal them in some fashion," he told me on the Fox News Channel on November 18. Saddam has damaged an already "badly broken" coalition, McCain said. He's now "enhanced in prestige" both in Iraq and in the Middle East. "And what at the end of the day is to prevent Saddam Hussein" from provoking another crisis? McCain asked. Nothing, he suggested. Yet he said it wouldn't be appropriate for congressional Republicans to try to exert pressure on Clinton. "I've always wanted to give the benefit of the doubt to the president of the United States," McCain said. "I think when Congress begins conducting foreign policy, it is not usually a very productive operation."

GOP senator Al D'Amato of New York agreed Saddam emerged the winner. "There's no doubt in my mind he secreted [biological or chemical weapons] some other place," he told radio showman Don Imus. But D'Amato didn't urge the president and his advisers to take stronger action. They did "the only thing they could," he said. "They did it well. You've got to play your hand." Colin Powell, chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff during Desert Storm in 1991, said he supported Clinton's attempt to resolve the crisis without military action. "I hope we can take the time to let this play out and see if there's any flexibility [for] some diplomatic solution," Powell told the *New York Post*. Republican representative Henry Hyde of Illinois, an influential member of the House International Relations Committee, praised the Clinton administration for going along with the Russian-arranged settlement. "I'm a critic of the administration," he said, but not this time. "I think it was the best of all solutions."

Margaret Thatcher wouldn't have said that.

***Fred Barnes is executive editor of*** THE WEEKLY STANDARD.


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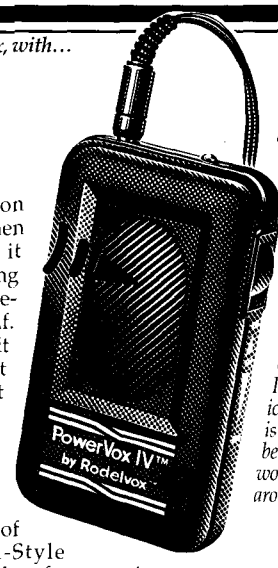


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# Labor Marches Left, and Trips

**By Arch Puddington**

Thirty years ago, the New Left launched its long march through the institutions of American society. The record of subsequent years is not unimpressive. The generation of student radicals that once heaped scorn on the work ethic has advanced steadily to positions of influence in the universities, the media, and the Democratic party. Yet a strange phenomenon seems to accompany the Left on its journey to power. Wherever it succeeds, decline, loss of credibility, and internal strife soon follow. The long march, it turns out, often leads to a dead end.

Is a similar fate in store for organized labor? Until last week, when a federal monitor barred Ron Carey from seeking reelection as president of the Teamsters, the revival of the trade-union movement was regarded as the most exciting development on the liberal-left in years. The new labor movement was younger, less white and male, more militant, and eager for audacious experiments. Furthermore, labor's rebirth was ascribed to the movement's openness to the energy and creative thinking of the political Left. Under the leadership of AFL-CIO president John J. Sweeney, labor had shed its previous churlishness towards the advocates of radical causes. Marxists, the proponents of identity politics, third-party champions, environmentalists, the veterans of pro-Sandinista campaigns—all were kept at bay by Sweeney's predecessors, George Meany and Lane Kirkland. But in the new configuration, the Left has achieved a position of influence it hasn't enjoyed since the Popular Front era, when Communists controlled a number of unions and were a formidable presence in many others.

The Teamsters scandal has now placed the image of a reborn trade unionism in jeopardy. To the public, the case, with its revelations of money laundering and fraud, may suggest that the new labor movement is not much different from the old one. Carey's misdeeds, however, are of a different character from the bribery, jury tampering, and racketeering that plagued the pre-reform Teamsters. His problems reflect the theme—all too familiar in recent Washington history—that if a crime was committed, it was for the good of humanity.

**THE TEAMSTERS SCANDAL, WITH ITS REVELATIONS OF MONEY LAUNDERING AND FRAUD, MAKES THE NEW LABOR MOVEMENT SEEM A LOT LESS NEW.**

Carey was elected Teamsters president in 1991, after waging an aggressive reform campaign. His ascendancy was to have widespread repercussions. First, the Teamsters began to play a more active role in the AFL-CIO, from which the union had been expelled in 1957. (It was readmitted in 1988.) Second, the Republican party was deprived of its only significant labor beachhead. Where the Teamsters had often supported GOP candidates under Jimmy Hoffa, Roy Williams, and Jackie Presser, Carey guided the union towards endorsements of Democratic candidates, and he gave money and volunteers to the Clinton campaign and Democratic efforts to regain control of Congress.

Last, and most important, Carey was instrumental in ensuring Sweeney's election as AFL-CIO president in 1995. In that contest, Sweeney was evenly matched with the federation's secretary-treasurer, Thomas R. Donahue. The Teamsters were one of the last unions to throw their weight behind the Sweeney insurgency; a Carey endorsement of Donahue might have changed the result and the subsequent direction of the labor movement.

In the two years since Sweeney's election, the new leadership's signal achievement has been the transformation of labor's public image. On more substantive matters, however, the record is mixed. Despite a ballyhooed, and quite expensive, campaign to organize the unorganized, labor still suffers from the pre-Sweeney pattern of membership decline in the private sector

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and only modest gains among public employees. At the same time, labor has stepped up the use of unorthodox tactics to win concessions from employers. Notable here is the corporate campaign, which entails a public-relations offensive to embarrass an employer, its directors, or large institutional investors.

On the political front, labor failed in 1996 to attain its major objective, the return of the House to Democratic control, despite massive spending and targeted attack ads against vulnerable GOP incumbents. Yet in the wake of the defeat of fast-track trade authority, labor's clout with congressional Democrats has seldom been higher. Indeed, labor has instilled a measure of fear in Democratic politicians by aggressively attacking incumbents who break ranks on critical issues, trade measures in particular.

Despite his popularity with the AFL-CIO leadership, Carey was unable to consolidate control of his own union. In 1996, he was challenged for the presidency by James P. Hoffa, the son of the late, legendary leader and a much more imposing figure than other potential challengers among the Teamster old guard. Federal monitoring of Teamster affairs had turned the union into a paragon of internal democracy, and as the election date approached, Carey received soundings from the field indicating that victory was by no means assured. Desperate for funds, the Carey campaign made the fateful decision to look outside the union's ranks.

While not always illegal, the involvement of non-members in union elections is regarded as a breach of one of trade unionism's core unwritten rules. For an official of one union to involve himself in the election of another union is tantamount to a country's interference in the internal affairs of another sovereign state. Public knowledge of the intervention can fatally compromise a union official who benefits from the outside help.

In Carey's case, outside intervention entailed a scheme to direct hundreds of thousands of dollars to his election coffers. Those involved range from top labor officials to the upper echelons of the Democratic party to the powerbrokers of the political Left.

According to the report of Kenneth Conboy, the federal monitor who issued the judgment against Carey, an elaborate plan was concocted in which funds from various sources were to be funneled to the Carey campaign through circuitous, and in some cases illegal, channels. During a two-week period in the fall of 1996, according to the report, nearly $900,000 in political contributions went from the Teamsters' general fund to various cause organizations, all as part of the Carey campaign's money-swap scheme. From the point of view of trade-union tradition and federal law, this is the most serious allegation: the transfer of Teamster funds—union-dues money, in other words—to Carey's campaign. To camouflage the money's ultimate destination, the plan in one instance apparently called for Teamster funds to be contributed to Citizen Action, a left-wing group, which would in turn make a contribution to the Carey campaign, in part by working through yet another channel, a telemarketing firm owned by Michael Ansara, a former Students for a Democratic Society leader. Here, then, was a classic, if maladroit, money-laundering operation.

A second pillar of the funding operation involved non-Teamster labor sources. According to the Conboy report, Carey determined that, having already given $475,000 to Citizen Action, he could not justify an additional $150,000 contribution. The money, therefore, was given to the AFL-CIO, which in turn made the donation to Citizen Action. Eventually, $100,000 of the money found its way back to Carey, while the rest remained in the bank accounts of Citizen Action and Ansara's telemarketing firm.

In addition, officials from other unions raised money for Carey. Old-line unionists like Meany and Kirkland would never have involved themselves in another union's internal affairs, no matter how seriously they regarded the outcome. But the new generation of labor leadership has fewer scruples in this area: Leaders of two of the AFL-CIO's largest affiliates, Gerald McEntee of the State, County, and Municipal Employees and Andy Stern of the Service Employees, were both named as having raised money for Carey.

Finally, there was an abortive attempt to raise money for Carey through the Democratic party. Carey reportedly agreed to make a large contribution from the Teamster treasury to the Democratic National Committee and the 1996 Clinton campaign, in return for a contribution to his own election campaign. Party officials reportedly tried hard to accommodate this arrangement. They went so far as to ask a wealthy Filipino woman, whose contributions to the Clinton campaign were disallowed because of her status as a non-citizen, to give the money to Carey instead. She did so, but this money, too, was returned, reportedly because the woman was an employer, and employer contributions to union elections are illegal.

Most of the information about this scandal has come from the guilty pleas of three consultants to Carey who are said to have masterminded the money-transfer scheme: Jere Nash, Martin Davis, and Michael Ansara. The three are prominent members of the progressive political network: Nash founded Common Cause in Mississippi, while Davis has been



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involved in numerous liberal-left causes through his direct-mail operation.

Ansara's pedigree is the most intriguing of the three. He was one of the best-known radicals at Harvard during the late 1960s and gained notoriety as the organizer of the action in which student radicals cornered and thoroughly menaced Secretary of Defense Robert McNamara. In fact, Ansara was regarded as a "moderate" within SDS. He never went underground or advocated the mindless violence favored by the Weathermen. Instead, he aligned himself with a faction known as Revolutionary Youth Movement II, a group that, among other things, advocated a biracial alliance of white radicals and the Black Panthers. Ansara also worked for *Ramparts* magazine, where his major project was a massive and ineptly argued study of the CIA, never published.

Ansara was something of an anomaly within the New Left in that he not only talked about the importance of "winning over the masses" to the antiwar cause, but actually made a try at recruiting the working class to a left perspective through grass-roots organizing campaigns. His first vehicle was an organization called People First, which he ran out of Dorchester, a working-class community to which he moved after Harvard. People First later metastasized into Massachusetts Fair Share, a grass-roots operation that concentrated on issues like utility rates and rent control.

In these early projects, Ansara was often joined by another former student radical, Ira Arlook. Arlook's name has figured prominently in the Teamster scandals because of his role as director of Citizen Action, the organization at the center of the money-laundering operation. Until it suffered the taint of the Teamsters case, Citizen Action boasted an impressive record as the organizational center for progressive causes. The group is said to have spent $7 million towards the defeat of congressional Republicans last year, a huge sum for a relatively unknown organization. Arlook, Ansara, and other leftists whose names have surfaced in the course of the Teamster investigation can no longer be said to occupy the political margins. They have matured into skilled political technicians who are adept in the use of the latest developments in telemarketing, vote targeting, polling, advertising, and other modern electioneering techniques. They are also effective at mobilizing human beings—one useful talent learned in their radical youth.

New Leftists like Ansara and Arlook once regarded the labor movement as a retrograde institution, a rest home for incompetent white men, a bulwark of the Cold War. The feeling was mutual: Labor leaders like Meany and Kirkland regarded the New Left as an enemy and worked assiduously to keep leftists out of the labor movement and to reduce their influence within the Democratic party.

Labor's suspiciousness continued through the 1980s, even as the AFL-CIO moved somewhat to the left, promoting tax-and-spend legislation and government regulation at a time when the Democratic party was moving to the center on domestic issues. The great dividing line continued to be foreign policy. Although fissures had developed within labor over Central America, labor continued to support an anti-Soviet policy and a robust defense. Within the Democratic party, labor was the sole organized voice for a hawkish foreign policy. The end of the Cold War thus removed an important obstacle from the Left's path. Today, unionism's foreign-policy objectives center on trade protectionism and the restriction of multinational corporations, not on the trials of unions in Poland or Latin America.

The Left has also benefited from the disintegration of the sectarian organizations that once dominated progressive politics. To be sure, John Sweeney made a public point about the direction of new labor by joining Democratic Socialists of America, founded by the late Michael Harrington, a splinter of the old Socialist party. Generally, however, today's labor progressives spurn identification with various left-wingery. They operate not so much as a movement as a network. The progressives who increasingly dominate labor staff positions are linked by friendship, marriage, and past causes to other progressives in the labor movement, in activist groups like Citizen Action, in the Democratic party, and in the Clinton administration itself. To take just one example, Karen Nussbaum, head of the newly created Women's Department of the AFL-CIO, is married to Ira Arlook.

One interesting member of the network is Barbara Zack Quindel, the woman who served as the first federal monitor in the Teamster election. Quindel, it turns out, was active in leftist causes in Massachusetts at the same time Ansara and Arlook were involved in their community-organizing projects, and she was later active in insurgent union politics in Detroit. Quindel is today a member of the New Party, a labor-oriented, somewhat radical organization that has had electoral success in several communities. Among New Party officeholders is Barbara Quindel's husband, Roger, a county supervisor in Milwaukee. A number of unions have given contributions to the New Party, including, it is reported, the Teamsters.

Understandably enough, Quindel's history did not



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inspire confidence in the fairness of the federal election-monitoring process. Hoffa's people claimed that Quindel and her monitor staff—drawn, for the most part, from leftist circles—consistently favored Carey, who won only narrowly in 1996. They were especially furious that Quindel postponed her decision to void Carey's victory until after the Teamsters had won the UPS strike. Quindel removed herself from the Teamsters case this past September, after her ties to the New Party were revealed, and she was replaced by Kenneth Conboy, who issued last week's report disqualifying Carey.

As the story of the Carey funding scheme has unfolded, some on the left have made semi-hysterical predictions that the affair will lead to the collapse of the project of recasting labor along more openly progressive lines. Clearly, there will be casualties before the case is finished. Already, Citizen Action has closed its national headquarters because of a fund shortage that resulted directly from the Teamsters scandal. Ron Carey faces the possibility of indictment. Another figure facing the prospect of criminal prosecution is Rich Trumka, the AFL-CIO's secretary-treasurer and the Left's favorite union leader, who has been linked to the money-laundering operation by the consultants. Trumka was elected to the labor federation's number-two position after serving as a reform president of the Mineworkers, where he established a reputation for militancy and for his tough, smart, and very left-wing staff. Trumka's mineworker team eventually gravitated to other labor entities, including the AFL-CIO and, especially, the Teamsters. Indeed, former mineworker staffers filled many of the Teamsters' top administrative positions, a source of resentment among longtime Teamster officials.

**LABOR, JOINING WITH THE ACTIVIST COMMUNITY AND LIBERAL DEMOCRATS, COULD PUT REAL MUSCLE BEHIND A GEPHARDT CAMPAIGN.**

But it is unlikely that the current troubles will divert labor from its present course. Although the direction taken by labor since Sweeney's election has its detractors, most trade unionists seem willing to continue in it, especially with labor now the single most influential force within the Democratic party. Sweeney himself is guarded, even sphinx-like, in his pronouncements. In his years as president of the Service Employees, he hired many leftists to work as organizers and political operatives, but kept the union squarely within the labor mainstream on issues of institutional importance. He may follow a similar course as AFL-CIO chief. On the other hand, the loss of the Teamsters, coupled with a possible change of leadership in the Laborers' Union, where President Arthur Coia, a Sweeney supporter, is under federal pressure to step down, could affect the balance of power in any future internal struggle. Indeed, a test could come rather soon if Trumka is forced to resign as AFL-CIO secretary-treasurer. (Trumka has pleaded the Fifth Amendment, which until recently was cause for automatic expulsion from the federation.)

There is also the question of what, precisely, constitutes the Left's agenda today. The collapse of communism has removed the albatross of anti-Americanism from the Left's shoulders. There is no identifiable leftist program for the remaking of the American system beyond a generalized support for an increased role for the state and limits on the power and mobility of capital. If the Left has an overarching objective, it would seem to be at the level of political strategy, where it is working to forge an organic link between the unions, the activist community, and the liberal wing of the Democratic party, forestalling the party's complete Clintonization. With a more-or-less unified labor movement providing the money and manning the phone banks, this coalition could put real muscle behind the presidential campaign of Dick Gephardt. Or if Gephardt failed to catch fire, a more radical alternative, such as Minnesota senator Paul Wellstone.

But if the past is any guide, serious problems are certain to emerge in the labor-left alliance over the long haul. In his guilty plea, Jere Nash asserted that, until his involvement in the Carey campaign, he had followed a code of political ethics in which the concept that the ends justify the means played no part. While this may be true of Nash, it is certainly not true of the Left generally. Whether of the old or the new variety, the Left has treated the institutions of bourgeois society with disdain, including the traditions of organized labor. It is to the cause, not the institution, that the Left attaches its loyalties. Many of labor's bright new staffers could just as easily pursue their goal of rearranging the American social order through Greenpeace, People for the American Way, or NOW. The history of labor's relations with the Left follows a distinct pattern, in which radicals bring vitality and creative energy in the short term, but inevitably demand that labor adopt an adversarial stance towards the American system. There is no reason to doubt that the pattern will repeat itself. ♦



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# Why Janet Reno vs. Bill Gates Is Good for Capitalism

## *In Praise of Antitrust Law*

**By Irwin M. Stelzer**

Free-market pundits in Washington have leapt to the defense of Microsoft in its shootout with the Justice Department's antitrust lawyers. Most of them see the government effort to force a change in Microsoft's business tactics as yet another example of Washington's heavy hand crushing Adam Smith's invisible hand. When Ralph Nader jumped on the bandwagon with a two-day Microsoft-bashing conference earlier this month, the free-market folks were only confirmed in their views.

And they are right to be suspicious of a government lawsuit aimed at one of America's most successful companies. After all, Attorney General Janet Reno herself announced the latest legal move against Microsoft, and the Justice Department has hardly covered itself with glory under Reno's reign. It is now widely seen as a shell and a shill—a shell of its former professional self, and a shill for the president. Bill Gates's Microsoft, for its part, is a highly dynamic enterprise that has helped to change how America creates, transmits, and processes information.

But neither Reno's failings nor Gates's achievements nor the massive lobbying effort that Microsoft has unleashed on Congress and the media should be allowed to obscure a few simple facts about this case. Most important, the case should not cause friends of the free market to forget that antitrust laws deserve their veneration, because they keep government's role as a regulator of industry to a bare minimum.

A disclaimer: Not being a lawyer, I have no idea whether Microsoft is in technical violation of its 1995 consent decree, as Justice now maintains. The company signed that decree rather than fight the Justice Department in court over whether its competitive tactics were unfairly based on market power. But one need not be a lawyer to conjecture that Microsoft possesses substantial market power: Its Windows software runs more than 80 percent of all the PCs in America, and that might well confer monopoly power on it.

Nothing wrong with that. Judge Learned Hand long ago ruled that "the successful competitor, having been urged to compete, must not be turned upon when he wins." If Microsoft achieved its enviable position as the result of its own efficiency and innovative skill (a proposition that many of its competitors deny, but they would, wouldn't they?), nothing in the antitrust laws would deprive it of the benefits of its business acumen. Having devised a better mousetrap, Microsoft should be free to wring from its invention every last point of market share and every last penny of profits that it possibly can.

So far, so good for Gates. But now Microsoft has another, and separate, product, a browser that lets you poke around the Internet. Whether that browser is better or worse than competing products, most notably Netscape's, I do not profess to know. Presumably, if left free to do so, consumers will decide who wins and who loses the race to become the dominant browser provider. They will make their decision based on the price of the product and its features—just as they decide which car to buy and which brand of jeans best suits them. This is, Gates says, just the way he wants it. Writing in the *Wall Street Journal*, he agrees with customers, who he says "want the decision left to the marketplace, with competition driving improvements."

But if the Justice Department is correct, Microsoft does not want to take the chance of losing in a one-on-one battle in the marketplace. Instead, it has hitched its browser, also available as a separate product, to its Windows operating system. As Gates himself describes it, "When a PC manufacturer like Compaq, Dell or Gateway chooses to license Windows, it agrees to ship the whole operating system, including Internet Explorer." The manufacturer, in other words, cannot get Windows unless he agrees to ship Microsoft's browser, dubbed Internet Explorer, along with it.

Having invented a mousetrap so good that it com-

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mands a dominant position, Microsoft now says to the manufacturers, who would be out of business without a license from Microsoft, "You must buy our cheese. Never mind that there are competitive cheeses available that may be more pleasing to the palate, buy our cheese or you can't have our mousetrap, for which at the moment there is no effective substitute."

When I posed this analogy to one of Microsoft's defenders, he quickly replied, "Ah, but in the case we are talking about, the cheese is free. Are you against allowing Gates to give away a browser?" Answer: There is no free lunch. If Microsoft's bundling tactic succeeds in driving other browser manufacturers from the field, consumers will sooner or later pay in the form of the higher prices or the debasing of a product that inevitably result from the loss of competition. Unless you believe that Bill Gates's philanthropic proclivities include a desire to give away browsers which he has undoubtedly spent a healthy sum to develop, you must believe that customers will sooner or later pay. They will do so either as part of the price they pay for Windows and its bundled browser, or in a slower pace of innovation should the browser come to occupy a market position as overpowering as that now occupied by Microsoft's operating system. There is no free browser.

It will take litigation or the credible threat of it to discover all the facts. But if it turns out that Microsoft does have a monopoly position in the market for operating systems, and that it is tying its browser to that monopoly product, conservatives should be appalled. Rather than automatically line up on the side of Microsoft, they should ask themselves just how capitalism is supposed to work. The answer is that it is supposed to confer rewards on those who produce the products that consumers want, at the prices they want to pay, with those preferences expressed in an open and competitive marketplace. Antitrust laws were enacted to maintain that open marketplace, or, as Gates himself puts it, "to ensure that consumers benefit from the widespread availability of goods and services at fair prices."

Maintenance of an open-access, competitive market is especially important in the case of software products, for two reasons. First, these are markets in which we rely heavily on innovation to improve products and continue to drive down prices. If potential entrants and innovators are warned that any product they may develop will be copied (to the extent the laws allow) and then offered "free" and tied to a monopoly product, they will find something better to do with their energy, time, and money. Result: a stifling of innovation.

Second, the Justice Department contends that "unfettered competition among Internet browser products could lead to development of a computer environment in which business and consumer applications would work regardless of which operating system was installed on the PC." If this proves to be true—and again, it is the function of litigation to separate mere assertion from fact—the stifling of competition could help Microsoft perpetuate its market power and convert the rewards it is justly receiving for its foresight and skill into the ill-gotten gains of a firm that substitutes brawn for brains.

All of this is standard antitrust law. Tying arrangements run afoul of the law if separate products are involved (right shoes and left shoes are not separate products, copying machines and the paper they use are); if you have to buy both products to get the one you need; if the seller has sufficient market power to enforce the tie; and if the tying arrangement has more than a trivial effect on commerce.

The courts will decide the facts in Microsoft's case, barring a settlement. And capitalism will survive either way. But in the long run, the benefits of free markets will be undermined if antitrust law erodes. What more devotees of the free market need to understand is that effective antitrust policy is crucial to the maintenance of the system they support. By forcing producers to compete for consumers' favor, the antitrust laws maximize consumer welfare. Competition eliminates excess profits; it allocates resources to their most efficient use; it forces firms to produce goods of the highest quality at the lowest price; it stimulates innovation. Businessmen profess a love of free markets but often subvert them by weakening the force of competition, by conspiring with one another, or by engaging in practices related not to a desire for greater efficiency but to an effort to gain a monopoly position. The antitrust laws stand between them and the attainment of that goal.

Equally important, by preserving open markets, the antitrust statutes diffuse private power and preserve maximum opportunities for individual enterprise. This is crucial to the preservation of a broad constituency in favor of capitalism. For if the notion takes hold that the sheer market power of a business confers upon it the right to bar entry to competitors or squeeze them out, regardless of their efficiency or innovative prowess, then the demand for government regulation will increase.

Indeed, history shows that unregulated monopoly power is not acceptable in a democratic society. When electric, gas, transport, and telecom companies were thought to be natural monopolies, the demand for



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their regulation became irresistible. Government agencies sprang up to set prices, determine the appropriate level of profits, set standards of service, and review investment decisions. This is the grim alternative to maintenance of a competitive market. It is the reason those who want to limit the role of government in economic affairs should enthusiastically endorse efforts to preserve the competitive system. And that means enforcing the antitrust laws.

None of this is to say that the facts of the Microsoft case support the Justice Department: Microsoft argues that the charges are "baseless" and "perverse," and it may carry the day with presiding federal judge Thomas Penfield Jackson. His decision will come after both parties have had their day in court. But the outcome of this case is far less important than the general proposition involved: A monopolist should not be allowed to leverage his way to dominance in a related market. That principle will stand. Good thing. ♦

# Off with Our Heads

## *The Courts Declare Themselves Guilty of Bias*

**By Heather Mac Donald**

The massacre of logic and suppression of facts are routine features of our diversity-obsessed age. We have grown accustomed to seeing university administrators, for example, torture the truth about admission standards to justify their race and gender quotas. But it still comes as something of a shock to discover diversity-driven cant coming from the judges on one of our most esteemed courts. In a fit of self-accusation, the Second Circuit—comprising the federal courts of New York, Connecticut, and Vermont—has issued a report on its own race and gender bias. It suggests that it will be a long time indeed before this country sheds its fixation on group rights.

Since the late 1980s, the state and federal courts have been swept up in a feverish search for internal sexism and racism. The lack of evidence for those sins has stopped very few courts from declaring themselves sinners. In the words of the Ninth Circuit's 1994 bias report: "Gender bias is alive and well. It has just gone underground." Now comes the Second Circuit's contribution to the genre—a five-volume, 767-page exercise in duplicity. For the last three years, the circuit's Task Force on Gender, Racial, and Ethnic Fairness in the Courts, made up of six federal judges and three lawyers, has been hard at work. It has supervised a quarter-million dollars worth of polling, hearings, focus groups, and statistical analysis designed to discover even the shadow of a discriminatory thought.

*Heather Mac Donald is a contributing editor of the Manhattan Institute's* City Journal.

The effort unearthed virtually no proof of systematic bias. Yet the task force's report manages to imply that discrimination remains an ever-present possibility requiring the usual battery of diversity training and affirmative-action hiring. This document is worth studying as an example of how the bias industry keeps the myth of discrimination alive.

Any rational observer examining the Second Circuit's demographic profile would quickly conclude that the circuit deserved a citation for its "diversity." At the appellate level, 20 percent of the judges are minorities, more than four times the percentage of the attorneys practicing in the circuit's courts who are minorities. Minority candidates have a 50 percent chance of being selected as bankruptcy judges—twice the success rate of white male candidates—and are overrepresented on the bankruptcy bench by a factor of 2.5. Minorities are also overrepresented as magistrate judges.

The situation for women is similar: Women are more likely to be district-court judges than attorneys, and bankruptcy judges than bankruptcy attorneys, in the circuit's federal courts. And both minorities and women are overrepresented in the circuit's workforce as a whole.

As for the courts' treatment of the parties who come before them, the news there is also annoyingly good. Even the task force has to conclude from the polling data that litigants are "rarely, if ever" subject to biased behavior. And jurors were "virtually unanimous" that no one treated them inappropriately.



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But diversity-mongers are not rational observers. Such reassuring data can never be allowed to stand in the way of a good bias witch-hunt. From the structure of the polling questions to the interpretation of the results, the task force and its pollsters demonstrate an ironclad determination to reach the desired result.

Early on, the task force articulates its grounding beliefs about diversity; they call to mind the Johnnie Cochran School of Justice. Diversity in public institutions is necessary, the task force announces, because it "offers some assurance to groups within society that there are at least some persons in authority who share to some degree the perspective of that group." Translation: Black people, including black judges, have a "black perspective"; Hispanics, including Hispanic judges, have a "Hispanic perspective"; women, . . . etc. It follows that a white defendant should tremble before a black judge, because the judge does not share the "perspective of [the defendant's] group." Likewise, a male plaintiff in a tort case can be assured of no justice from a female judge, who lacks the perspective of the male "group." What the task force is saying about law, echoing academic radicals, is nothing short of devastating: Race and gender may affect the outcome of a case as much as legal rules and evidence.

But this perversion of our legal tradition is just a prelude to the perversion of logic that the task force builds upon it. Confronted with the fact that the Second Circuit bench is over-supplied with women and minorities, the task force violates its own group-perspective dictum. Since diversity reassures groups that "sufficient numbers" of public officials share their "life experiences," "it is understandably desirable that appointing authorities would seek to achieve higher percentages of women and minority judges than the available pool percentages would indicate." Diversity hiring, the task force concludes, must continue.

There is nothing "understandable" about this reasoning. The ludicrous designation of courts as identity-confirming therapists justifies at most the proportional representation of "groups," not the overrepresentation of some groups at the expense of others. Why are white men any less deserving of having their


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"life experiences" represented on the bench in "sufficient numbers"? To the task force and its allies in the cultural elite, white men are simply non-entities.

The task force here inadvertently reveals its remarkable "heads I win, tails you lose" logic. If minorities and women are underrepresented in an institution, aggressive affirmative action is needed. If minorities and women are overrepresented, aggressive affirmative action is still needed. It turns out that proportional representation is only a floor—there's no limit to the diversity measures an institution must take.

The task force buttresses its plea for endless diversity hiring by a number of rhetorical techniques designed to downplay the good news and overplay the "bad" news about the circuit. Understatement, beloved of the Greeks as "litotes," is a particularly useful strategy for minimizing positive data: "We note that the overall percentage of women district judges . . . (27 percent) does not compare unfavorably to the 21.7 percent of federal court practitioners who are women." Or: "Women and minorities are not significantly underrepresented in the Second Circuit's workforce." More accurately, women and minorities are overrepresented in the workforce.

The task force likewise pumps up the significance of trivially small "negative" data. It solemnly discloses that four judicial law clerks, a mere 1.6 percent of the sample, encountered alleged gender bias more than once when interviewing with judges and that six respondents, or 2.4 percent, encountered one sexist question. Now, if the evidence had gone the other way, and only 2 percent of law clerks had said they had untroubled interviews, no one would have paid this tiny group of dissenters the slightest attention. But for an anti-racism and anti-sexism crusader, a 1.6 percent positive response requires corrective action.

Despite the pollsters' zealous solicitation of racial and sexual hurt feelings, the survey turned up disappointingly little bad news about bias on the bench. A large majority of respondents, white and black, reported no mistreatment of them or others by judges. Fortunately, the pollsters insured against just such a calamity by analyzing behavior wholly outside the Second Circuit's jurisdiction. Incredibly, the pollsters investigated how private lawyers treat one another as part of the survey of the Second Circuit. It turns out that most alleged discrimination occurs outside the courtroom—by other lawyers. If this is a problem, it is a problem beyond the Second Circuit's authority. Yet the task force uses such irrelevant data to pump up its discussion of the "Biased Treatment of Lawyers."

Even more remarkably, the pollsters include information about how the public treats lawyers as part of the bias survey. The one question that produced a truly rousing response was: "Have you been mistaken for a non-lawyer because of your race or ethnicity or gender in the past five years?" It turns out that a majority of female lawyers have indeed experienced this crippling humiliation. But the task-force report does not reveal by whom they were so humiliated, because the pollsters did not ask. Most likely, people off the street committed this bias offense. That such an infraction lies outside the circuit's jurisdiction is silently overlooked.

In proposing solutions to this plague of discrimination, the task force is just as creative with the facts. Take its suggestions regarding law clerks. As always, the task force starts from an unpromising set of data: First, the diversity of law clerks in the Second Circuit equals or exceeds that of the law schools. Second, only about 3 percent of the clerks surveyed said they had shied away from a particular judge because of his reputation for sexism or racism. Nevertheless, the task force calls for race- and gender-based outreach programs for law students. Why? Because the applicant pool for clerks may be limited by the "applicant's perception that his or her gender or race is a negative factor for certain judges." Remember: Only 3 percent of the clerks had professed such negative "perceptions." It takes only 3 percent, however, to trigger a finding of a hostile environment and a remediation agenda.

No diversity tract would be complete without a call for diversity training and more anti-bias bureaucracy. As usual, the task force reaches these cherished desiderata in the teeth of contrary evidence. Managers in the court system have received, in the report's words, "few, if any, complaints of discrimination or harassment." Does this mean that the courts are in fact treating their employees equitably? By no means. The task force promptly concludes that "employees' fear of retaliation may cause underreporting of discriminatory or harassing conduct." The task force even has data to back up its speculation: Four percent of the survey respondents said they had remained silent about bias because of fears of retaliation! That's all that's needed to march the entire circuit off to diversity training and to saddle it with the deadening weight of additional affirmative-action red tape.

Like an obsessive-compulsive, our culture can't stop frantically tracking down phantom bias, prerequisite as it is for the entire regime of preferences. That the courts themselves have taken up the hunt and cast aside their traditional allegiance to reason and truth is a reminder of how far this country has moved from its original ideals. ♦



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# For God and Country

## *William J. Bennett's Book of the Founders*

**By Noemie Emery**

It is with the words "This is a book of advice" that William J. Bennett opens *Our Sacred Honor*, his new collection that seeks, by quoting America's founders, to recreate their moral world. The advice to which Bennett refers is really about one topic only: how to become, in public and private, the manner of people the founders were. Members of one of the most stunning political cohorts ever to appear, they managed—with no training, and often no grand plan or purpose—to launch a startlingly new species of government that has since been endorsed by the entire civilized world.

In this group, and this book, appear Presidents George Washington, John Adams, Thomas Jefferson, and James Madison, cabinet member Alexander Hamilton, first Chief Justice John Jay, Constitutional Congress member Gouverneur Morris, and the whole complex crowd of their friends, rivals, enemies, lovers, and wives. Together they represent a cross-section of colonial culture: Adams, the prickly son of a Massachusetts small farmer; Morris, the bon vivant son of a rich family in New York; Washington, the insecure, ambitious first son of the second marriage of a marginal Tidewater planter; Jefferson, the rebellious heir to a Charlottesville fortune, irked by the airs of his royalist mother; Madison, the frail, possibly epileptic son of a wealthy Virginian; and Hamilton, "bastard bratt of a drunken Scots pedlar," who came from the West Indies on charity scholarships and had of all of the founders the most extreme trajectory and died the most heart-breaking death.

*Noemie Emery, the author of books on Alexander Hamilton and George Washington, is a writer living in Fairfax, Virginia.*

They were an unlikely cluster of great politicians, and the clue to their success lies not so much in their different backgrounds as in the beliefs they held in common. These beliefs had to do with Providence, God, self-control, and virtue as the key to republican government.

Much involved in modern battles over such issues, Bennett poses the founders simply as heroes for our own time—a time that tends to deny the possibility of heroism. And yet, though they may be effective witnesses against his many political enemies, Bennett's technique raises several complex questions that will not find simple answers. What is the role of religion in statecraft, and how can it be used with propriety? What is it that government ought to be doing? How do private morals affect public virtue? And what makes a great public man?

**William J. Bennett**
***Our Sacred Honor***
***Words of Advice from the Founders***
Simon & Schuster, 384 pp., $25

Morality, as Bennett knows, does not mean an absence of sin. But though he acknowledges some of the founders' failings—Washington's quick temper, for example, and Benjamin Franklin's fondness for "intrigues with low women"—it soon becomes obvious that he has seriously understated the large amounts of lust, greed, jealousy, bile, and general malice that surrounded the founders. Great as they were, they were much less virtuous in practice than Bennett lets on.

*Our Sacred Honor* correctly praises the fortitude of Gouverneur Morris—ambassador to France, friend to Hamilton and Washington, and senator from New York—when told at twenty-seven he must lose his leg below the knee. But though Bennett tells us that this sad event came as the result of a carriage accident, he does not tell us that the carriage was fleeing from the home of a lady whose husband had unexpectedly returned. (Morris was famous for this sort of exploit. "Poor Gouverneur's leg is a tax on my heart," his good friend John Jay wrote. "I could wish he had lost something else.") Morris's later life was just as interesting. Bennett describes his younger wife, married when Morris was fifty-six, merely as "haunted by scandal," but in fact she had stood trial for the murder of the infant she had borne to her sister's husband when the three of them lived in one house.

Alexander Hamilton's famous affair with the wife of a blackmailer is briefly mentioned in Bennett's book, together with the rumored liaison of Thomas Jefferson with the slave-housekeeper who was his dead wife's half-sister. (Hamilton was accused as well of an interest in his own wife's sister. Incest, it seems, was in the air.)

All of this would keep today's tabloids busy, as would the murder in 1806 of George Wythe, the great law teacher and Jefferson's mentor, when he, his housekeeper, and their mixed-blood son were poisoned by a rapa-



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cious and venomous grandnephew who somehow managed to be acquitted. Two of John and Abigail Adams's sons were drunken and dissolute—one dying, estranged, before age thirty. And the pattern repeated itself in the children of John Quincy Adams, the older couple's one sober son.

Bennett is famous for his work with the "virtuecrats"—those contemporary commentators and politicians who insist upon family values and public civility. But "family values" is not much of a description of the lives of the founders, and "civility" does not begin to express their public lives. Adams once ascribed the ambitions of a political rival to "an excess of secretions, which he could not find whores enough to draw off." When the cabinet feud between Hamilton and Jefferson broke out in the early 1790s, the first instinct of both men was to hire editors to print lies about the other, professing all the while great innocence. The name of James Callender—the notorious promoter of scandalous stories, who once worked for Jefferson and later turned against him—does not appear in Bennett's version, though he too is part of the story of the founders' era.

The point of mentioning all this, however, is not to join the contemporary chorus of historical debunkers and deconstructors. Flawed as Bennett doesn't quite tell us the founders were, they nonetheless lived in a moral climate considerably better than our own. In the framework of their lives, the sins they often committed were acknowledged as the sins they were—violations of an overriding ethic of self-discipline. However often it occurred, indulgence was the exception, not the rule.

In sanitizing the lives of the founders, Bennett misses what may be his best possible argument: that the founders stressed self-control precisely because they knew the power of self-indulgence and the disorder it could bring. Despite all their disagreements, they were unified in stressing both the necessity of moral awareness and the necessity of religion for maintaining a free political system.

The signature tropes of all the great founders would enrage today's secular Left. "Of all the dispositions and habits which lead to political prosperity, religion and morality are indispensable supports," Washington said in his Farewell Address. John Adams would put it even more pungently: "Our Constitution was made only for a moral and religious people. It is wholly inadequate to the government of any other. . . . We have no government armed with power capable of contending with human passions unbridled by morality and religion. Avarice, ambition, revenge, or gallantry would break through the strongest chords of our Constitution, as a whale breaks through a net."

**ADAMS ATTRIBUTED A FOE'S OPPOSITION TO "SECRETIONS HE COULD NOT FIND WHORES ENOUGH TO DRAW OFF."**

The founders refer to religion deliberately, for it is the key to the matter. It poses a God who stands above all human authority as the author of "inalienable" liberties that therefore no power of the state can remove. And it defines a moral order in which man is not the center of his moral universe, but merely part of a plan that transcends his own interests—and thus forces him to obligations other than himself.

Religion plays the central role in making us fit for self-government. If we respect the rights and the interests of others, we cannot be predators. If we are not predators, we will not threaten others and thus not require supervision from the state. It is by placing man rather than God at the heart of the moral universe that secular liberalism poses its great public danger: Those whose only concern is personal interest have little cause to regulate themselves.

The liberal Democrats want controlled markets and uncontrolled morals, while the libertarian Republicans want uncontrolled everything, and William J. Bennett—squarely in the moralist wing of the conservative movement—is at odds with them all. But he need not take us back as far as the founders to teach us the hopelessness of both radical liberalism and libertarianism. The Left's pattern of economic controls and free-market morals has since the 1960s brought our great cities to ruin. And an amoral culture eventually creates a huge state. Crime requires police, jails, and courts, all of which cost money. Illegitimacy is very expensive, as the state tries with great expenditures of money and effort to take the place of missing parents. The giant explosion in the state's cost and activity took place in step with the decay in morals and was a consequence of it: the state trying to do, very badly, what individuals failed to do for themselves and their families. Unwilling to suffer the public disorder that comes with moral breakdown, people look to the government to contain it.

It is no accident, as the Marxists used to say, that moral and social implosion appeared in the 1960s and '70s, just as it is no accident that the contemporary programs that deal most effectively with the social debris left by those decades are largely church-run and faith-based. The founders knew they must never enshrine one religion, favor one above others, or dictate one manner of worship. But at the same time, they knew that without the values that underlie religion, they could not maintain a limited government. And thus of necessity they endorsed the politics of religion as a public and civil necessity.

We might note that they endorsed



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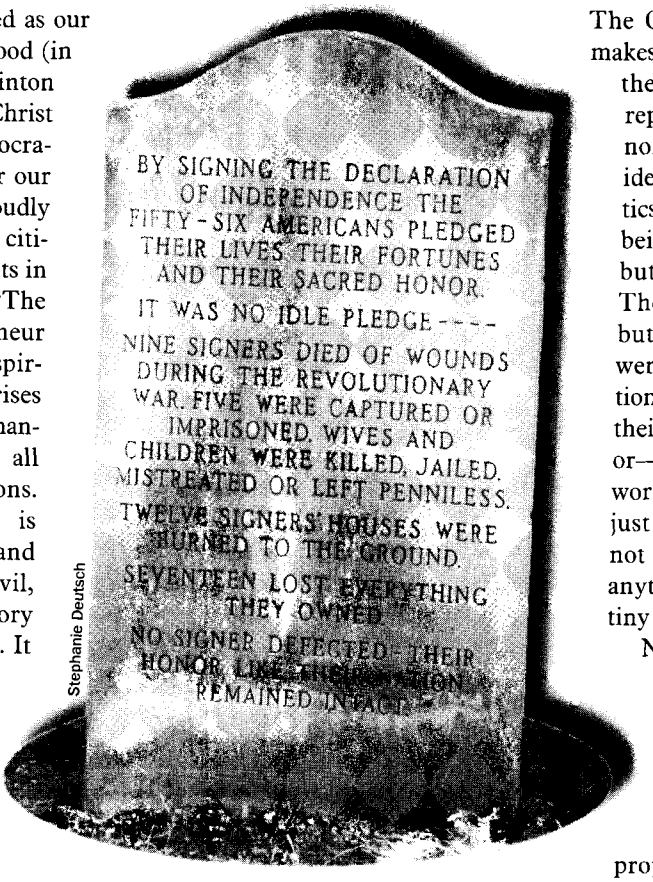
as well the religion of politics: statecraft as a Godly endeavor through which one could participate in God's work. America was the founders' one shared religion, and when we think of the idea of the nation that they bequeathed to subsequent generations, theological parallels come inevitably to mind. The Declaration of Independence and the Constitution became our secular covenant. The Gettysburg Address was inscribed as our Sermon on the Mount. Washington appeared as our Mosaic lawgiver. Lincoln stood (in the words of the historian Clinton Rossiter) as "the martyred Christ of the passion play of Democracy" who died, as it were, for our sins. Americans, who are proudly not subjects, are not merely citizens either, but communicants in a continuing national rite. "The Nation Spirit," Gouverneur Morris declared, is "the Inspiring Soul of Heroes, which rises men above the Level of Humanity. . . . It is high . . . above all low and vulgar considerations. . . . It is generous. . . . It is noble—dreading Shame and Dishonor as the Greatest Evil, esteeming Fame and Glory beyond all things human. . . . It is that high, haughty, generous, and noble Spirit, which prizes Glory more than Wealth, and holds Honor dearer than Life."

The founders, in other words, believed that America was not merely another country joining the community of nations. To be an American means to want to be glorious and noble as an individual: honest, generous, and brave. It means belonging to a glorious and noble state: expanding freedom and dignity at home, and inspiring others abroad. From the original settling of the New World by religious people, it was sensed that this land was different: not an outpost of the old world, but something akin to the New Jerusalem, a shining "city on a hill."

For over two hundred years, the founders' religious vision of America has given us a moral vocabulary with which to express our history. With it, we have understood the original settlers' flight from religious oppression and creation of a new life in an alien land. With it, we have grasped the Revolution of 1776 and the establishment of a constitutional government, the Civil War and the ending of slavery, our role in two great world conflagrations, and our victory over the Communist antithesis of democratic government.




Stephanie Deutsch

*Monument at Berkeley Plantation, on the James River, Virginia home of the Harrison family.*

In *Our Sacred Honor*, Bennett proves his understanding that this moral vocabulary—or, more particularly, the founders' vision of true moral greatness on which the vocabulary rests—is under attack at present from both the libertarian Right (which thinks the government exists to get out of the way and let people make money) and the entitlement Left (which thinks government exists only to give people money). It is under attack as well from the Clintons, at the head of a cohort of self-obsessed boomers, who see themselves at the vortex of all human endeavor and think history exists to shine flattering spotlights on themselves.

The Clinton generation, in fact, makes an interesting contrast with the founders' generation, replicating all their sins with none of their grandeur or ideals. The founders were skeptics about the nature of human beings (including themselves), but not about their country. They had ambition and ego, but no self-absorption. They were obsessed with "reputation," but what they meant was their standing as people of honor—and when they used the words "sacred honor," that was just what they meant. There is not much room for honor or anything else sacred in today's tiny politics.

Neither, for that matter, is there much room for what the conservative columnist George Will has called "the exhilaration of collective achievement through government," in projects designed to "elicit nobility" in the state and the people at large. Portions of the Right want to demolish the government, while the Left wants to encrust it in byzantine layers of state intrusion into private life. Will quotes the poet Stephen Vincent Benét calling America "This thing, this dream, this land unsatisfied with little things." But these days, small things and small people are all we seem to see. William J. Bennett's advice is to recall the words of the founders, as fast as we possibly can. ♦



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# FATHERS AND SONS

## *The Burden of Randolph Churchill*

**By Larry P. Arnn**

All boys spend much of their lives trying to live up to their fathers. Having had a longer road to travel than others, Randolph Churchill went surprisingly far toward success. And yet, in the end he knew as much failure as success. The question of Winston Churchill's son Randolph is the question of how a man could fail so often—in family, in politics, in life—when he was so capable, so nobly formed, and so constantly supported by a father who was as great as any man in our century.

**Winston S. Churchill**
***His Father's Son***
***The Life of Randolph Churchill***
Trafalgar Square, 514 pp., $40

In this new biography, *His Father's Son*, Winston S. Churchill—grandson of the great Sir Winston and son of Randolph—examines that famous father and son, two characters remarkably alike and utterly different. Seldom are we better able to isolate in two similar souls the differences that make for ordinary success in the one and the greatness that reaches beyond the ordinary in the other.

Like his father, and in a similar way, Randolph Churchill was a precocious boy. Even more than Winston, however, Randolph was, for want of application, an indifferent student. Yet he developed early strong powers of articulation, a prodigious memory, and a quick wit. After Eton, Randolph was admitted to Oxford mid-term and without taking the examination. But he abandoned Oxford before completion to begin a career of journalism, biography, war, and politics.

In the 1930s, still in his twenties, he lectured widely around the world, stood for Parliament repeatedly, wrote constantly, and talked freely with great men around his father's table. His writings and speeches are aflame with the principles and policies of his father. He joined eagerly that small band resisting Hitler's appeasers. His speeches and writings even from this early time set a high standard. When he was barely twenty-one, he went to Germany to cover the election of July 1932. Attending a large Nazi rally, he wrote, "I can only describe the meeting as a mixture between an American football game and a Boy Scouts' jamboree, animated with the spirit of a revivalist meeting and conducted with the discipline of the Brigade of Guards." He went on to identify Hitler as a tyrant and a menace:

> The success of the Nazi party sooner or later means war. Nearly all of Hitler's principal attendants fought in the last war. Most of them have two or three medals on their breasts. They burn for revenge. They are determined once more to have an army. I'm sure that once they have achieved it they will not hesitate to use it.

Even Sir Winston himself did not write such prophetic views so early.

Like his father before him, Randolph shone at war. A commando, he went on raids behind enemy lines in North Africa. Wounded repeatedly, he impressed the bravest men with his good cheer under fire. Later in the war he was assigned, upon the request of a former commander, to the sensitive and important British mission to Yugoslavia. There he proved tireless, brave, and effective.

People named Churchill seem never to travel except in the most distinguished company, and Randolph spent his time in Yugoslavia with Tito and the satirist Evelyn Waugh. The two Englishmen were later estranged for a time. But when, after the removal of a benign tumor from Churchill's lung, Waugh was overheard to grumble, "Trust those damn fool doctors to cut out of Randolph the only part of him that was not malignant," the remark so delighted the recovering patient that he instantly reconciled with Waugh.

During World War II he also served his only term in Parliament, having been elected unopposed to be member for Preston—where people still speak of his impressive qualities, including, unfortunately, his arrogance. Randolph actually published a statement of his ambitions upon his twenty-first birthday. In a newspaper article he wrote, "I am not afraid . . . to reveal . . . my two main ambitions. I wish to make an immense fortune and to be Prime Minister." He suspected enough of the future, however, to add: "In twenty years time . . . when I shall probably have fought four or five unsuccessful elections and have been bankrupted more than once, I do not see why I should then regret my youthful ambition, however laughable this will appear to my more experienced eye. Enjoy success to the full and disregard failure—only thus can life be tolerable."

Randolph's relations with his father were almost always friendly and hostile at the same time. He followed his father's politics fiercely and understood himself always to be supporting the great man. Yet he spent extravagantly at a time when the family finances were precarious, and he entered by-elections that placed his father's own strained rela-

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tions with the Conservative party under additional stress. Even when Winston was very old, he insulted him grievously with his sharp tongue (and wept for having done it). Randolph's sensible sister Mary once wrote, "I think the great misfortune in R's life is that he is Papa's son." But Winston was, against his reputation, a kind man. Having been neglected or repulsed by his own father to his deep chagrin, he indulged Randolph all his life.

Randolph lacked the ordinary virtues that are the basis of sustained effort and good relations with the world. Those dearest or most important to him suffered particularly. He lost his second wife when he called her, loudly in a restaurant, "a paltry little middle class b—." He lost a by-election when a constituent farmer asked him how many toes a pig had, and he replied in a flash, "Take off your bloody boots and count." He drank and smoked to excess, and eventually to death. He gambled extravagantly and teetered near bankruptcy most of his life. He never won an election in which he had an opponent. He never made a marriage work, and he violated other people's. He had no stability in his career until his father appointed him his biographer.

It is easy to claim that these vices represent an exaggeration of the faults attributed to his father. Winston drank, but not to drunkenness. He was assertive and stubborn, but he compromised in all but the matters that mattered most. His finances were strained, but when he lost in the Depression the fortune that he had carefully built up, he went out and made himself another. He married a wife and cherished her all his life. Above all, he applied himself with a surpassing diligence and perseverance to everything he did in his adult life.

But good example is not always effective, particularly the example of a father upon a son, and we can perhaps blame Winston Churchill for some of the moral failure of Randolph. We should remember as we do it, however, that the failure stems not from malice or neglect, but from love and care wrongly bestowed. When we read Randolph's early speeches about Hitler or India, we must be struck by how much they resemble those of his father. His speeches on the Tory party and democracy, on communism, race, socialism, and war convey precisely the same impression. His life and career operate squarely within the four corners of his father's genius—that quality which cannot be passed from one generation to another.

Randolph Churchill was a proud man, but not too proud to follow the greatest man he ever knew. He was a rebellious son, but not in the most important things. He failed at much, but much of what he attempted was noble. Perhaps Sir Winston did not give his son all the means, but he gave him at least the end and Randolph had virtue enough to pursue it. ♦

# ALL THE WAY WITH LBJ

## *Johnson Leaves the Presidency Reeling*

**By Robert D. Novak**

The insights into the workings of the White House that readers will find in this enthralling collection—a transcript, with commentary, of covertly recorded conversations with Lyndon B. Johnson during his first nine months as president—are typified by the disclosure of LBJ's intervention in a proposed bank merger, apparently in violation of federal guidelines.

**Michael Beschloss**
***Taking Charge***
***The Johnson White House Tapes, 1963-1964***
Simon & Schuster, 591 pp., $30

The principals in the merger were Gus Wortham, a Houston insurance tycoon and longtime Johnson booster, and John Jones, president of the *Houston Chronicle*—who definitely was not in the LBJ inner circle, his uncle being the famous Jesse Jones, a right-wing Texas Democrat and member of Franklin D. Roosevelt's cabinet who had opposed Johnson's long battle to become a senator. Now, Johnson, in the presidency for scarcely six weeks, saw a way to capture both Jones and the *Chronicle*.

He spelled it out at mid-day on January 2, 1964, talking to industrialist George Brown, his financial supporter and intimate friend. He wanted a letter from the *Chronicle*'s owner saying, "So far as I'm personally concerned and the paper's concerned, it's going to support your administration as long as you're there. Sincerely, your friend, John Jones."

Brown didn't like that much and argued that John F. Kennedy had said in Dallas on that last fatal trip that he would approve the merger. LBJ retorted: "No, he hadn't said he was going to approve it. He told me that he was going to get that *Chronicle* right in his hip pocket the rest of his life or he wasn't going to give them the time of day"—the phrasing more LBJ's than JFK's. Brown suggested that "it was too much of a cash-and-carry thing . . . too much of a trade," but Johnson insisted the bank merg-

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er was dead unless "they tell me that they're my friends in writing." Jones did sign the letter, and on January 8 the president phoned Jones to inform him that the merger was approved. "From here on out, we're partners," said Johnson. "Sure are," the compelled Jones agreed.

Nearly every page of *Taking Charge* contains such glimpses behind Johnson's façade. Michael Beschloss, a fine presidential historian, has performed an invaluable service by transcribing the antique recordings of a system surreptitiously installed by Johnson and supplementing it with insightful commentary. This is one book whose explanatory and analytical footnotes are must-reading.

Johnson was anxious to put John Jones and the *Chronicle* on his side because, behind his protestations of grief, he was obsessed from the moment of John Kennedy's death by his own chances for election in 1964. The two dominant themes of these nine months—what to do about Vietnam and Robert F. Kennedy—are both forced into the narrow focus of electoral politics.

From the start, Johnson had few illusions about Vietnam. "Anytime you got that many people against you that far from your home base, it's bad," he told publisher John Knight on February 3, 1964. "We're losing," he added to Defense Secretary Robert S. McNamara on April 30. But his conversations about Vietnam were short on substance and long on politics. When it was suggested that the Kennedy-appointed Republican Henry Cabot Lodge be relieved as ambassador in Saigon, Johnson worried: "He'd be back home campaigning on us on this issue." He told national security aide McGeorge Bundy: "You ought to tell [columnist Walter] Lippmann to knock the tail off [Richard Nixon] because he's trying to start another war with China"—the "wily Johnson," as Beschloss comments in an explanatory note, pushing Bundy "to provoke the dovish Lippmann to attack Nixon for excessive hawkishness."

Johnson's Vietnam dilemma comes clear in long talks with his mentor, Senator Richard Brevard Russell of Georgia. Suffering from emphysema and embittered in a Democratic party where he increasingly felt out of place, the segregationist conservative Russell had his foreign policy advice sought by Johnson even while the two men were engaged in a bitter struggle over civil rights. Known as a super-hawk during his long tenure as chairman of the Senate Armed Services Committee, Russell on May 27, 1964, told Johnson that bombing did not interdict supply lines in Korea and "you ain't gonna stop these people [in Vietnam] either." Johnson protested that "they'd impeach a president, though, that would run out, wouldn't they?" And on June 11, Russell told the president (in a prophecy Beschloss calls "hauntingly right") that military intervention in Vietnam would "take a half million men . . . bogged down in there for 10 years." When Russell added that he shared some of dovish Senator Mike Mansfield's fears about Vietnam, LBJ replied, "I do too, but the fear the other way"—the fear of being accused of cowardly quitting—"is more."

## *11:38*: "I'M A POOR MAN," JOHNSON WHINES ON THE PHONE TO A NEW YORK HAIRDRESSER.

In truth, at this moment, Bobby Kennedy was even more in his thoughts than Vietnam. Johnson was obsessed by the fear that the Kennedy heir would force his way onto the ticket as vice president or, worse yet, challenge him for the presidency. The two men's conversations printed here, though clearly uncomfortable, are civil enough. "You're a great guy," the president told Bobby on June 11. But behind Kennedy's back, Johnson brooded about the dead president's brother. On August 17, he complained to Secretary of State Dean Rusk that Kennedy is "a very, very ambitious young man. It's unbelievable how ambitious he is." (Rusk, reflecting the switch of loyalty to LBJ by many of JFK's appointees, responded by citing a "ruthlessness" in Kennedy "that just scares the hell out of me.") For his part, Kennedy was then confiding to a historian that Johnson was "mean, bitter, vicious—an animal in many ways."

"This is Bobby's trap," Johnson said when a civil rights challenge to the all-white Mississippi delegation to the 1964 Democratic Convention threatened a massive Southern walkout. The mostly black Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party, LBJ mused, was "born in the Justice Department." Indeed, Johnson threatened to drop out of the presidential race if the dispute at the convention was not settled. Was he serious? Would he really have taken the step that would have surrendered power to Kennedy, his arch-enemy? "Aw, you ain't gonna do that," Johnson's old friend John B. Connally is recorded as telling him over the telephone. But nobody can be sure, and this footnote to history is not resolved by these taped conversations.

But they do reveal the many sides of Lyndon Johnson, better than any of the excellent biographies of the man. Just eavesdrop on a few of Johnson's conversations two days before Christmas, 1963, when he had been president for only one month:

*11:38 a.m.* Johnson calls hairdresser Eddie Senz in New York, asking him to come down that day to work on his wife, his daughters, and his secretaries for the holidays. Protesting that "right now I'm a poor man," the multi-millionaire president tells Senz he will take care of his



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plane flight to Washington "but we can't pay you much else."

*11:45 a.m.* Johnson, enraged that there are Pentagon protests over his plan to get rid of Kennedy-oriented military aides, informs Deputy Defense Secretary Roswell Gilpatric: "Tell the generals that if they're little men like that, that believe they can pressure their commander-in-chief on what his strategy ought to be in war or what his decisions ought to be in peace, they don't know the Commander-in-Chief." Gilpatric, an inner-circle Kennedyite, fawningly laughs and says, "They're gonna learn."

*2:21 p.m.* With members of Congress coming into the White House for a Christmas reception even while resisting the passage of the president's foreign aid bill, Johnson tells legislative liaison Lawrence O'Brien: "Smile and shake hands and thank everybody, and then just cut their peter off and put it in your pocket when they do us this way."

*8:45 p.m.* Johnson instructs two personal aides he has brought into the White House, Walter Jenkins and Jack Valenti, about loyalty. In recruiting for appointive positions, "swear 'em to loyalty and devotion and do or die—every man that's appointed."

*9:55 p.m.* Worried that he may be implicated in a Senate Rules Committee investigation of former aide Bobby Baker, Johnson telephones a committee member, Senator Robert Byrd of West Virginia (not yet a venerable guardian of Senate tradition, but a 46-year-old LBJ protégé). Asked whether the probe threatens the presidency, Byrd replies, "Darned if I know." Johnson snaps back: "Well, if you don't know, what the hell you're doing up there on that committee? I put you on so that you would know!"

When as a young Senate beat reporter I covered Majority Leader Johnson, I first encountered his disregard for the truth in things both large and small. But the duplicity that appears in the cold print of this new volume can still be a little startling. He just plain lied to *Time* correspondent Hugh Sidey when he denied that Kennedy aide Dick Goodwin had written his Great Society speech. He fibbed to Bobby Kennedy when he promised to pass on some advice to FBI director J. Edgar Hoover (who was not speaking to his attorney general). "I'll do it right now," Johnson told Kennedy. He never did.

Sometimes the duplicity is hard to fathom. From his first hours as president, Johnson angered old political allies back in Texas by blocking Democratic primary election opposition to his old enemy, Senator Ralph Yarborough, as a way of showing his new, liberal colors to the party's national leaders. Yet, this book reveals—and it came as a surprise even to close friends—that on February 3, short hours before the filing deadline, LBJ called Representative Jim Wright to urge him to run against Yarborough. "I can take care of you if you lost," the president declares ("meaning," notes Beschloss, "that Johnson . . . could give Wright a federal job"). Wright was clearly tempted, but said no and went on to become speaker of the House. The next day, Yarborough telephoned his thanks to the president for supporting him. Unabashed, Johnson gushed, "You serve humanity, and I want to help you in any way I can." (Beschloss wryly observes, "This is how LBJ spoke to liberals.")

**JOHNSON DID NOT MUCH CARE FOR NEWSPAPERS, BUT HE SPENT A LOT OF TIME HARANGUING THEIR OWNERS.**

This syrupy tone, often used in addressing political adversaries, contrasts with the harshness used toward his own staffers, particularly when berating his honorable, long-suffering press aide George Reedy: "You come in with those damned old wrinkled suits and you come up with a dirty shirt and you come in with your tie screwed up. . . . You look like a g—d—ed reporter."

Johnson did not care much for reporters. But in these days when print was still king, he spent a lot of time reading newspapers and magazines and haranguing the people who wrote for and, better still, owned them.

His attitude is exposed in conversations with a longtime ally, New York lawyer Edwin Weisl Sr., as when on January 25, Johnson grumbled: "I don't understand . . . why the [New York] *Times* turns on me so"—to which Weisl responded by helpfully referring to the *Times* as the "Uptown *Daily Worker*." Weisl was renowned as one of Johnson's wisest counselors, but he comes over in these pages as no less of a yes-man than LBJ aides.

On March 9, Johnson was concerned about a *Wall Street Journal* investigation of how he made his fortune. More accustomed to dealing with the boardrooms of newspapers than with their city rooms, Johnson and Weisl briefly indulged the fantasy that they could get the publishers of the *Wall Street Journal* to suppress the story. Weisl: "Who owns that thing?" LBJ: "I have no idea." Weisl: "I'll find out."

Apart from its allure for history buffs and political junkies, *Taking Charge* is a valuable corrective to the widely held notion that the hands-on, masterful politician provides the correct model for the presidency. A self-pitying, manipulative, and endlessly fascinating American original, Lyndon Johnson is seen in these pages as the masterful politician he was—moving toward his disastrous solution to the Vietnam dilemma, as future Beschloss volumes are sure to show. ♦



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# How the Lion Lost His Story

## *Staging Disney's Spectacular* Lion King

**By John Podhoretz**

Recently, on Tom Snyder's late-night talk show, the celebrated writer-director Quentin Tarantino went into a "these kids today" tirade about how illiterate most young would-be filmmakers are. They want to make movies, he said, but they don't know the first thing about, for example, the work of the great European filmmakers that he inhaled in his now-legendary days as a video-store clerk in southern California. Cinematically literate Tarantino may be—so literate that he apparently stole chunks of a little-known Hong Kong movie called *City on Fire* for his screenplay and direction of his first film, *Reservoir Dogs*—but his literacy in other things is illustrated by a note that producer Jane Hamsher reproduces in her new book *Killer Instinct*. In it, Tarantino misspells the word "legs."

Contemporary Hollywood is indeed illiterate—not just where spelling is concerned, but in the most fundamental ways. The movie industry is dominated by people who do not know how to tell a story. This crisis of literacy has been masked by the explosion of special-effects filmmaking, which has kept audiences worldwide gaping in wonder at the sight of a dinosaur on a San Diego street in *The Lost World* or a Harrier jump-jet floating outside a Miami office building in *True Lies*. But special effects can get you only so far, and the awe they inspire is time-limited. These sorts of movies will seem hilariously prehistoric to an audience in the twenty-first century, in the same way that the *Buck Rogers*-sort of serial from the 1930s evokes laughs today.

What grabs us in those movies from the 1930s that do not provoke the giggles is the stories they tell—stories about people who may be living in a different time with different fashions and styles of speech, but who are nonetheless just like us. Without that feeling of commonality, all a movie has is its glittering surface—and as George Lucas's decision to refurbish the special effects of *Star Wars* shows, what glittered twenty years ago gets tarnished pretty fast.

The most awe-inspiring technical achievements in Hollywood history are probably not the special-effects films, but the full-length cartoons the Walt Disney studio has been producing since 1937. Each second on film comprises twenty-four separate still photographs. That means, in essence, that for every second of a cartoon, twenty-four different paintings have to be executed in which there is only the most microscopic change from the previous one. That's 1,440 paintings a minute, 86,400 an hour. Even small children understand what a labor these movies are. "It's all drawings, right?" a four-year-old I once took to *Pinocchio* whispered to me. When I said yes, he shook his head and responded: "Boy, they must have used a lot of ink!"

But here, too, there are good Disney movies and bad Disney movies. The studio's recent *The Hunchback of Notre Dame* is gorgeous to look at but a stinker, as were *Hercules* and *Pocahontas*. But *The Little Mermaid*, *Beauty and the Beast*, and *Aladdin* are great works of popular art. All of these films used a lot of ink, but what distinguishes them is the storytelling.

In fact, the great Disney movies may be the supreme acts of story-telling in Hollywood history, because they have to operate within very rigid rules. Since children are their primary audience, the Disney cartoons have a stripped-down simplicity about them. There is no narrative trickery—no flashbacks, no narrator, no title cards announcing "One Year Later," no devices a five-year-old cannot understand. Shorn of such devices, a good movie for a five-year-old has to do some pretty serious story-telling just to convey the fundamental principle of stories, which is that things change over a period of time.

By far the greatest Disney movie of recent years—and by leagues the most successful—is *The Lion King*. The studio's accomplishment is all the more impressive when you consider that it is the only one among the studio's classics that is not an adaptation of a classic story. The simplicity of the story gives it fantastic resonance. It begins as the populace of the animal kingdom gathers for the presentation of Simba, the baby lion who is to be the future king. It's a wonderful life at the top of the food chain, but a life burdened by royal responsibility.

Young Simba isn't interested in that; he just loves the idea of being king and getting to do whatever he wants. His father, Mufasa, tries to explain the "circle of life" to his son, but his lessons are undercut by the manipulations of Mufasa's younger brother, Scar. By playing on the cub's heedless vanity and adventurousness, Scar eventually succeeds in convincing Simba that he is responsible for the death of Mufasa.

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The tortured Simba runs away and hooks up with a fun-loving warthog and meerkat who teach him a new philosophy: "Hakuna Matata," which means "no worries." Live for today, roam the world, plant no roots, have fun. Simba grows to lionhood as the kingdom he fled is run into the ground by the Claudius-like Scar. Simba is unwillingly reminded of his past by running into his childhood friend, the lioness Nala. She demands he return with her to overthrow Scar and restore the circle of life. He refuses until he is visited by the shade of his father, who tells Simba: "You are more than what you have become." He returns, defeats Scar, marries Nala, and the movie ends with the birth of his cub and the resumption of the circle of life.

*The Lion King* is hilarious, interesting, exciting, and really quite overwhelmingly powerful—unambiguously a masterpiece of storytelling. Now it has given birth to a Broadway musical that opened last week—and will still be running when Quentin Tarantino applies for Social Security or learns to spell "legs." Disney had the inspired notion of hiring an avant-garde puppeteer named Julie Taymor to figure out how to stage this all-animal show without turning it into a "Disney on Ice"-style travesty. The company gave Taymor $15 million, and in return she has given them something genuinely amazing—a feat of technique so profound that it will redefine the American theater.

The first image is of two giraffes made of wood walking against a morning sun. Look again and you see that each giraffe is a man on stilts—four stilts, his legs the giraffe's hind legs and his arms the fore legs. He has a giraffe's head as a hat, so you can see his face. He moves delicately across the stage, looking out at the audience and smiling.

From then on, the wonders never cease. An elephant (in a costume that looks made of wicker) comes lumbering up the aisle with four people inside it, each one a leg. A field of grass is represented by ten actors, each with a hat of grass. An actor plays Timon the meerkat in green face, with a full-length puppet (attached to his hands and feet) that dances when he moves.

The Broadway *Lion King* gives its audience a stunning stage picture every minute, and critics are falling all over themselves to find words to describe Taymor's achievement. But in doing so, they seem determined to declare that, unlike the movie, the musical is something special and revolutionary. It is, says John Lahr in the *New Yorker*, a "theatrical event far more textured and original than the film."

**THE *LION KING* HAS SPECTACULAR STAGE EFFECTS. BUT IT'S A PRETTY INCOMPETENT PIECE OF STORY-TELLING.**

Lahr, as usual, gets it wrong. As a piece of theater, Taymor's *Lion King* is exactly comparable to the story-weak Hollywood special-effects spectacular. It is the most expensive stage presentation in Broadway history, and the long, buzzing lines at the box office of the New Amsterdam Theater (which might as well be renamed The Lion King Theater, since it may never see another show on its stage) are reminiscent of the lines that greeted the opening of *Star Wars* or *Jurassic Park*.

Like a special-effects movie, the stage *Lion King* shows you things you have never seen before, and makes you gasp in wonder. But unlike the movie, it is emotionally remote and a pretty incompetent piece of storytelling. On film *The Lion King* runs seventy-five minutes, every second of it germane. Taymor has lengthened the show to a running time (with intermission) of two hours and forty minutes. And everything she has added—*everything*—is extraneous. There are a half-dozen new songs, and only one (a ballad for the grown-up Simba called "Endless Night") is any good.

There's a lot of pretty African caterwauling, but Taymor doesn't seem to know that a little of this goes a long way. Probably ten minutes of the show are sung or spoken in an untranslated Zulu tongue, complete with clicking sounds.

Most telling is Taymor's inability to keep even a simple storyline coherent. In fact, if you haven't seen the movie already, it's going to be nearly impossible to follow the play. Taymor has taken a narrative with the simplicity and universal appeal of an Aesop fable and turned it into a jumble. And she had the liberty to do so only because she knows that the lion's share of her audience has already seen the movie (which had a worldwide gross, with video sales, of nearly $1 billion).

So perhaps it's best to think of the stage version as *The Lion King Variations*. That's probably how Taymor thinks of it as well—and doubtless she is sure that her version beats by a mile the original (written by Irene Mecchi, Jonathan Roberts, and Linda Woolverton). It was her decision to bring the sounds from the movie's background into the fore, she has said, because they are what drew her to *The Lion King*. Trust a MacArthur genius-grant winner like Taymor to know so very much about style and so very little about substance.

The stage version of *The Lion King* is a wondrous production. But beware: The junk that will inevitably follow it is going to make the singing cats of *Cats* and the singing trains of *Starlight Express* look like Aeschylus. ♦



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"President Clinton's advisory panel on race held a hearing today on how to achieve diversity on college campuses but chose not to solicit the views of opponents of affirmative action. The chairman of the panel, John Hope Franklin, the historian, said only supporters of affirmative action were invited to speak at the daylong session because he wanted to hear only from those who saw the value of having a diverse student body."

—*New York Times, November 20*

# Parody

## One America

MEMO November 24, 1997

To: All Witnesses Appearing Before the President's Race Commission

From: John Hope Franklin, Chairman

Subject: How To Be Diverse

As you know, next week's Town Meeting in Akron can be a historic moment in the struggle for diversity in America. But we won't have a Chinaman's chance of breaking through the media static if we don't coordinate our remarks beforehand. Therefore I have drawn up a list of guidelines for the diverse testimony each of you will deliver. These guidelines are MANDATORY. Anyone who is off the reservation will have his testimony cut off and expunged from the record.

1. Each of you will begin your testimony with 6 (six) minutes of diversely fulsome praise for the Chairman. This praise will include, but need not be limited to, the extraordinary work that I have done as a historian and the tremendous moral courage I have demonstrated as a leader in the civil rights crusade. Do not stint.

2. I will nod when the period of diverse praise has come to an end. At this point the witness will proceed with a 4 (four) minute homage to the importance of the committee's commitment to the cause of diversity. As a concluding thought, witnesses will recite the following: "The evil legacy of slavery will never be undone. But the pain of slavery will be mitigated when all members of all diverse groups of appropriately diverse pigmentation, as well as women, are given preferences at Berkeley and Harvard, regardless of their individual test scores, effort, or actual disadvantaged background."

3. As you know, the enemies of diversity have introduced jarring voices into the debate by talking about Asian Americans, Hispanic Americans, Native Americans, and other ethnic groups. There will be no mention of these groups in your testimony. As I have said several times at our earlier sessions, diversity is a black-white issue. We don't want the purity of the diversity debate muddied by a rainbow of muddled voices.

Finally, if any of you have any questions, you may ask our house Republican, Tom Kean. Many of us had never met a Republican before Mr. Kean and were somewhat wary. But he has proven himself to be a very loyal, supportive, and therefore diverse person.

I look forward to your testimony.

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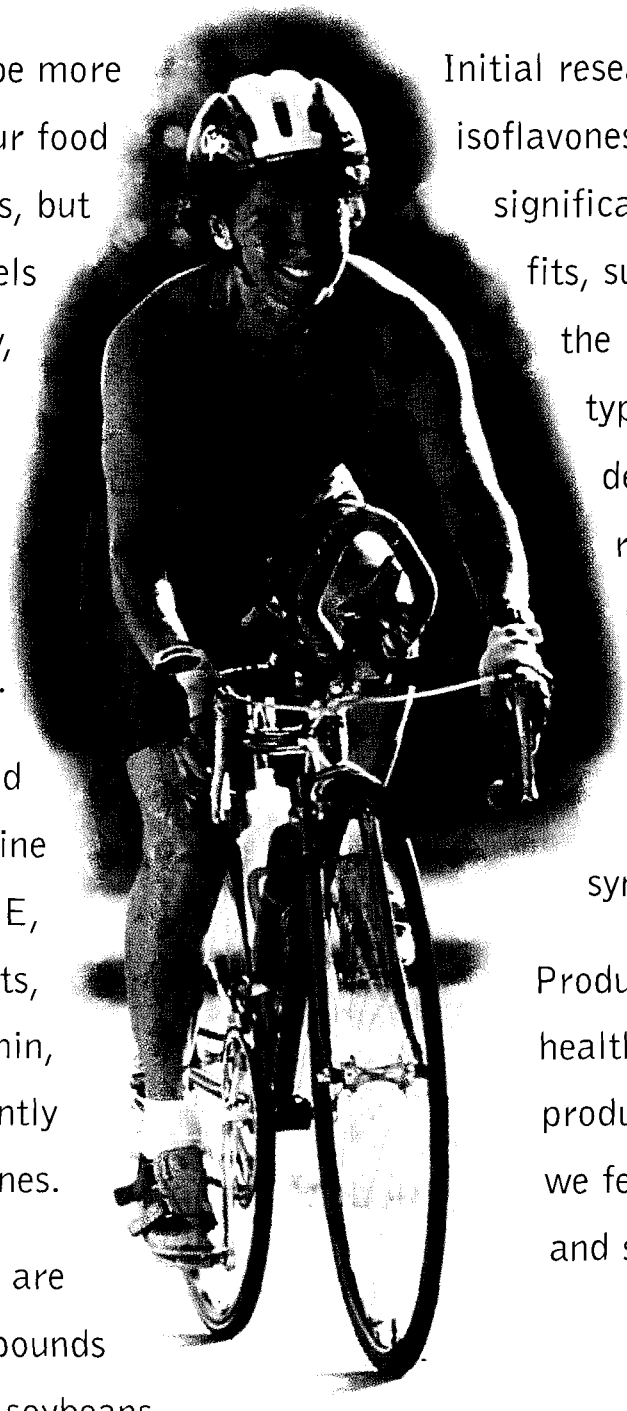

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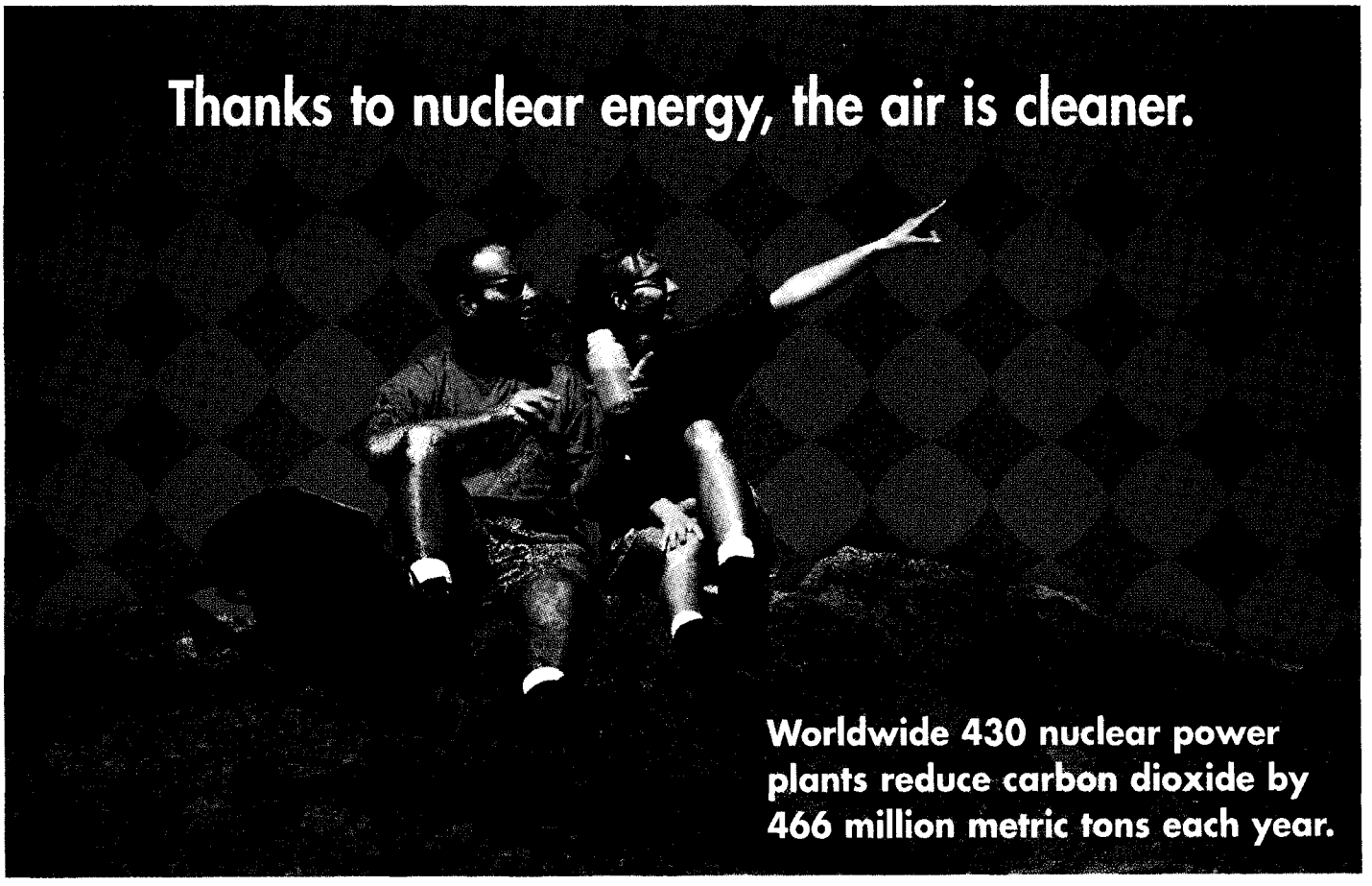


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